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ART. I.—*Illustrations of Biblical Literature, exhibiting the History and Fate of the Sacred Writings, from the earliest Period to the present Century; including Biographical Notices of Translators, and other eminent Biblical Scholars.* By Rev. JAMES TOWNLEY, D. D. 2 vols., 8vo., pp. 602, 604. New-York: G. Lane & P. P. Sandford. 1842.

THE author of these volumes was an itinerant Methodist preacher; and for six and thirty years he performed the duties devolving upon him with fidelity and success. Having received the benefit of a classical education in his youth, he continued to prosecute his studies during the whole period of his ministry, and gave to the world several works of great merit. His ILLUSTRATIONS OF BIBLICAL LITERATURE, to which we purpose to devote a few pages, has never before been published in this country. It is printed on good paper, and is characterized by even more than the usual neatness and typographical accuracy of our enterprising book agents.

The subject is one of deep interest. It is a history of the word of God from its first promulgation to the present time; and although many writers have turned their attention to different points connected with the main subject, and to them our author acknowledges his indebtedness, yet nothing has ever appeared which, for extent of information, and accuracy of detail, can be compared with the volumes before us.

The necessity of a divine revelation may be argued from several considerations; the most prominent of which is frequently alluded to in the Scriptures themselves. It is man's utter inability, in the language of Zophar, by searching to find out God. "The world by wisdom," says the apostle, "knew not God;" that is, the wise men of the world, the philosophers, were unable to reach the great truth of his existence, much less to teach men their relationship to him, and the duties required by him. But have not philosophers

*demonstrated* the existence of God? Have they not given chains of learned argument by which this great truth is satisfactorily established? Most assuredly they have. Let it never be forgotten, however, that the men who have done this were in possession of God's own revelation. They did not, *by searching*, find out God: but *after* God had revealed himself; with the Bible in their possession, *then* they argued the point, and conducted it to a satisfactory conclusion. This view of the case is sustained by the fact that those philosophers who were not in possession of the Scriptures never evolved, by their reasonings, the glorious truths of God's unity, spirituality, omnipresence, and other attributes with which revelation has invested his character. And, further, even with the Bible, the wisdom of the world has never been able to discover and establish any one perfection of the Almighty, save those only which have been revealed by himself. The *necessity* of such a revelation being established, that necessity is at least presumptive evidence that God has given it to his creatures; and consequently the *onus probandi* is thrown upon those who deny that the Bible *is* that revelation.

Until the time of Moses, the longevity of the human race precluded the necessity of a *written* revelation. By *tradition* the truths which God had revealed to the patriarchs were transmitted from generation to generation. Methuselah was contemporary with both Adam and Noah; Shem, the son of Noah, lived until the days of Abraham, whose son Isaac conversed with Joseph, with whom Amram, the father of Moses, was intimate. Thus, until this era of the world, tradition was amply sufficient for the communication of religious truth. God, however, having determined to abridge the life of man, and the human race continuing to multiply and spread, some means of rendering a knowledge of his will permanent became necessary. Accordingly "the infinitely wise and gracious God condescended to the necessities of man, and favored him with a revelation suited to the brevity of his life." The opinion that God himself is the author of the first ALPHABET, or limited number of signs by which human thoughts may be expressed, has been controverted and denied. Our author advances several arguments which go far to sustain, if they do not prove, the affirmative of this position. One thing at least is clear: *the decalogue was written by the finger of God himself*;\* and it

\* "And he gave unto Moses, when he had made an end of communing with him upon Mount Sinai, two tables of testimony, tables of stone, WRITTEN WITH THE FINGER OF GOD," Exod. xxxi, 18.

Again, "And the Lord said unto Moses, Come up to me into the mount, and



is utterly impossible to prove that any thing of the kind was previously known among the children of men ; although it is probable, that by arbitrary marks, or hieroglyphics, they were enabled to communicate a few specific and distinct ideas. But the superiority of the *alphabetic* over the *symbolic* method of writing is scarcely less than infinite. In any conceivable state of perfection to which the latter could be brought, it would never have subserved the purpose of conveying to the nations of the earth its early history, or the injunctions and requirements of the Almighty.

The similarity in the form and sound of the letters of all known languages is evidence that they were all derived from one source. The Samaritan, the Hebrew, the Syriac, and the Greek letters follow each other in their respective alphabets in nearly the same order, have nearly similar names, and express, for the most part, the same sounds. Of these, the Samaritan, or, as it is called by profane writers, the Phenician, is supposed to be the oldest. In its characters the decalogue was probably written, and necessary information concerning it was doubtless communicated to Moses, by whom the Jews were instructed in it. The Samaritan alphabet continued in use among that people until the time of Ezra, when the *Chaldee*, or present Hebrew character, was adopted, and "the former," says our author, "relinquished to the Samaritans, in order, as it is said, to render the separation between them and the Jews more complete."\* Dr. Clarke, in his note on Exodus xxxii, 15, to which the reader is referred, seems to favor the opinion that the two tables, "written with the finger of God," were in the Samaritan character ; and if so, that was, of course, the original of all alphabetic writing.

The *material* first used for rendering thought permanent, by means of letters, was, as is evident from many passages of Scripture, *tables*, or *slabs of stone* ;† and in the museums of antiquarians are preserved specimens of very great and unquestionable antiquity. Afterward (as we learn from Job xix, 24) *plates of lead*

be there : and I will give thee tables of stone, and a law, and commandments WHICH I HAVE WRITTEN," Exod. xxiv, 12.

Once more : "The tables were the work of God, and the writing WAS THE writing of God, graven upon the tables," Exod. xxxii, 16.

So also, Moses, after rehearsing the ten commandments to the children of Israel, says, "HE (Jehovah) WROTE THEM in two tables of stone, and delivered them unto me," Deut. v, 22.

\* As authority for this statement, our author refers to Walton in Bib. Polyg. Proleg. i, ii ; Astle's Origin and Progress of Writing, iv, 51, &c., &c.

† See Deut. xxvii, 1, 8 ; Josh. viii, 32.

were used; and Montfaucon (*Antiq. Expliquee*, tom. ii, p. 378) assures us that in 1699 he bought at Rome a book, entirely of lead, about four inches long by three inches wide. Not only the two pieces which formed the cover, but also all the leaves, in number six, the stick inserted into the rings which held the leaves together, the hinges and the nails, were all of lead, without exception. It contained Egyptian Gnostic figures, and unintelligible writing.\* Pausanias, speaking of the "works and days" of Hesiod, which, in the opinion of the Bœotians, was the only genuine production of that author, declares that he saw a copy inscribed on *leaden* tablets in the temple of the muses; and, according to Pliny, public documents were written on that metal. In process of time *slabs of wood* were used. Skins of animals and of fish; the inner bark of trees; the intestines of serpents; the leaves of the palm, the talipot, and others of large foliage; tablets of wax; linen and cotton cloth; parchment and vellum, were successively employed, although perhaps not in the precise order here indicated. Much curious information on this subject may be derived from the pages of our author.

*Paper*, made of linen rags, now so common in the civilized world, was the invention of a comparatively recent age; although we are ignorant both of the name of the inventor and the date when it first came into use. The oldest document written on this material, of which we have any certain knowledge, bears date A. D. 1239; and the earliest allusion to the establishment of a paper mill in England is in Shakspeare's drama of Henry VI.† Of course, in the employment of these different materials various instruments, such as the *stylus* or *graphium*, made of iron,‡ silver, gold, ivory, or wood; reeds, canes, pencils made of hair, and the quills of geese and other birds, came successively into use.

\* Fragments, by the editor of Calmet's Dictionary, No. 74, as quoted by our author.

† *Jack Cade*—"Whereas, before, our forefathers had no other books but the score and the tally, thou hast caused printing to be used, and contrary to the king, his crown, and dignity, thou hast built a *paper mill*."—*Henry VI.*, part ii.

‡ Goode's translation of a passage in the book of Job, as quoted by our author, removes a seeming difficulty as it stands in our authorized version, and is illustrative of the material used in his day:—

"O that my words were now written down;  
O that they were engraven on a table;  
With a *pen of iron*, upon lead!  
That they were sculptured in a rock for ever."

*Chap. xix, 23, 24.*

*Pens* are mentioned by Isidore of Seville, who flourished in the seventh century, and a manuscript of the Gospels, written in the ninth century, is ornamented with fanciful representations of the four evangelists, each holding *a quill*.

From the time of Moses to within four hundred years of the fullness of time, when the Redeemer appeared upon earth, the Jews were favored with a succession of prophets and inspired writers. Their instructions, warnings, and predictions, in prose and in poetry, were written in detached portions; were scattered abroad; and, in the opinion of many learned commentators, had suffered much from the ignorance and carelessness of those who had transcribed them. The collection and arrangement of these sacred records is universally attributed to *Ezra*. This was soon after the return of the Jews from their captivity in Babylon. Being himself inspired, he corrected errors which had crept into the text; arranged the separate books in their appropriate order; added what seemed necessary, as in the case of the death of Moses in the last book of the pentateuch; and changed the names of those places which, during the lapse of years, had become obsolete. After the death of Ezra, several translations of the Scriptures were made by Jewish rabbins, the principal of which were the translation (or *TARGUM*) of Onkelos, and that of Jonathan, the former a literal version of the five books of Moses into pure Chaldee, and the latter a paraphrastical translation of all the prophets into the same language. About this time also the *MASORITES*, or *MAZORETES*, commenced their critical labors. They numbered every verse, word, and letter, and ascertained how often each separate letter of the alphabet occurred in the whole Bible. Their critical labors are called by the Jews the fence, or hedge of the law; and however much we may be disposed to smile at the magnitude of such trivial labors, we have therein a guaranty for the purity of the sacred text. The same extraordinary care is still bestowed by the Jews on those copies designed for use in their synagogues. Butler, in his *Horæ Biblicæ*, as quoted by our author, observes,—

“It is a constant rule with them, that whatever is considered as corrupt shall never be used, but shall be burned, or otherwise destroyed: a book of the law, wanting but one letter, with one letter too much, or with an error in one single letter, written with any thing but ink, or written upon parchment made of the hide of an unclean animal, or on parchment not purposely prepared for that use, or prepared by any but an Israelite, or on skins of parchment tied together by unclean strings, shall be holden to be corrupt; that no word shall be written without a line first drawn on the parchment; no word written by heart,



or without having been first pronounced orally by the writer; that before he writes the name of God, he shall wash his pen; that no letter shall be joined to another; and that if the blank parchment cannot be seen all around each letter, the roll shall be corrupt. There are settled rules for the length and breadth of each sheet of parchment, and for the space to be left between each letter, each word, and each section."

Archbishop Parker bears similar testimony to the great reverence with which the Jews regarded the sacred volume. He says;

"Some of the Jewes . . . used such diligence that they could number precisely, not onely every verse, but every word and syllable, how oft every letter of the alphabet was repeated in the whole Scriptures. They had some of them such reverence to that book that they would not suffer in a great heap of books, any other to lay over them; they would not suffer the book to fall to the ground; as nigh as they could, they would costly bind the books and Holy Scriptures, and cause them to be exquisitely and accurately written.—It must needs signify some great thing to our understanding, that Almighty God hath had such care to prescribe these bookes thus unto us. I say not prescribe them onely, but to maintain them and defend them against the malignity of the devil and his ministers, who alway went about to destroy them. *And could these never be destroyed*, but that he would have them continue whole and perfect unto this day, to our singular comfort and instruction, where other bookes of mortal wise men have perished in great numbers."—*Bishop's Bible, Pref.*, 1568.

In the reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus, about two hundred and eighty years before Christ, appeared the justly celebrated Greek version of the Old Testament, known as the SEPTUAGINT; concerning which some curious particulars are preserved in the volumes before us. It is generally known that from this version Jesus Christ, and the evangelists and apostles, usually made their quotations. The autograph, or original, is supposed to have been destroyed in the Alexandrian library; but copies had been multiplied, both for the use of synagogues and private individuals. This translation continued in use among Christians, and by the Hellenist Jews, until the year of our Lord 128, when AQUILA, an apostate from Christianity, prepared a version more conformable to the wishes of the Jews. Of his labors nothing now remains but a few fragments. The next version in order of time was that of THEODOTIUS, which appeared about A. D. 184, to which succeeded that of SYMMACHUS, and three or four others, by authors whose names are unknown. All these, together with the Septuagint and the original Hebrew, were collected and published by the indefatigable ORIGEN in his celebrated HEXAPLA.

With reference to the books of the NEW TESTAMENT there is

much doubt as to the time in which they were severally written. Paul's Epistles to the Thessalonians and Galatians are usually supposed to have been first in order, even before the Gospels; and the Revelation of St. John, by universal consent, is placed last, as a kind of postscript to the sacred canon. It was written about the close of the first century after Christ. No one of the original autographs of the evangelists or apostles is now in existence; although it seems that in the early ages they were preserved with great care. In the fourth century the manuscript of John's Gospel was in possession of the Ephesian church; and others probably were preserved in different places until that time. During the persecutions which raged against the Christians in the early ages, it is probable that all the autographs were successively destroyed; and hence the labor of critics and commentators has been directed to the collection, collating, and comparing of the various manuscripts and translations that have come down to our time. Not only were many transcripts of the Gospels and Epistles made during the first and second century after Christ, but they were translated into various languages for the benefit of those who were unacquainted with the original. *Augustus*, who lived, according to our author, in the fourth century, has the following observation in his treatise, *De Doctrina Christiana* :—

“The number of those who have translated the Scriptures from the Hebrew into the Greek may be computed; but the number of those who have translated the Greek into Latin cannot. For immediately upon the first introduction of Christianity, if a person got possession of a Greek manuscript, and thought he had any knowledge of the two languages, he set about translating the Scriptures.”

Translations were made into the dialects of Upper and Lower Egypt in the second or third century, and manuscripts of both dialects, the former known as the *Sahidic*, the latter as the *Coptic*, are still extant. During the first three centuries after Christ various manuscript copies of parts and of the whole of the sacred writings in different languages were made by learned men; but during the severity of those persecutions through which the church was called to pass, they were destroyed. In the reign of Dioclesian, who ascended the throne in A. D. 284, a decree was issued, that all the copies of the Scriptures that could be found should be burnt; and, says our author,—

“The most dreadful tortures were inflicted upon those who refused to deliver up the sacred volumes to the fury of the heathen; but every torture, and even death itself, was braved with the most heroic constancy by many Christian worthies, to whom the BOOK OF GOD was

more precious than life. Felix, of Tibiura, in Africa, being apprehended as a Christian, was commanded by Magnilian, curator, or civil magistrate of the city, to deliver up all books and writings belonging to his church, that they might be burned. The martyr replied, that it was better he himself should be burned. This magistrate sent him to the proconsul at Carthage, by whom he was delivered over to the prefect of the Pretorium, who was then in Africa. This supreme officer, offended at his bold and generous confession, commanded him to be loaded with heavier bolts and irons, and after he had kept him nine days in a close dungeon, to be put on board a vessel, saying he should stand his trial before the emperor. For four days he lay under the hatches of the ship, between the horses' feet, without eating or drinking. He was landed at Agrigentum, in Sicily: and when brought by the prefect as far as Venosa, in Apulia, his irons were knocked off, and he was again asked whether he had the Scriptures, and would deliver them up: 'I have them,' said he, 'but will not part with them.' The prefect instantly condemned him to be beheaded. 'I thank thee, O Lord,' said this honest martyr, 'that I have lived fifty-six years, have preserved the Gospel, and have preached faith and truth. O my Lord Jesus Christ, the God of heaven and earth, I bow my head to be sacrificed to thee, who livest to all eternity.'\*—Euplius of Catana, in Sicily, suffered in the same cause.—Being seized with the Gospels in his hands, he was examined on the rack, 'Why do you keep the Scriptures forbidden by the emperors?' He answered, 'Because I am a Christian. Life eternal is in them; he that gives them up loses life eternal.'—He was beheaded on the 12th of August, in the year 304.† —Vol. i, p. 107, &c.

Such instances of heroic devotedness were however comparatively rare; and when we reflect upon the number and duration of these relentless persecutions, it is not to be wondered at that so few manuscripts of this early date have come down to our times. The wonder rather is, that every vestige of God's written word had not been destroyed from the face of the earth; and its preservation must be attributed to the protecting care of Him who first gave it to the children of men. Truly, in the language of the Psalmist, the words of the Lord have been as silver tried in a furnace; and like the bush which Moses saw, burned with fire, but not consumed.

In the fourth century JEROME, an Italian monk, a man of profound learning, and one of the most eminent Biblical scholars that ever lived, revised the Latin version of the Bible, and his translation formed the ground-work of the present VULGATE, which was sanctioned by Pope Gregory in the sixth century. It was declared, officially, to be authentic, by the Council of Trent; and it

\* Milner's History of the Church; Butler's Lives of the Saints.

† Butler's Lives, Aug. 12, vol. viii, p. 158.



continues still to be the only authorized version of the Romish Church. Soon after the publication of Jerome's translation, in the early part of the fifth century, MESROBE produced what has been styled "the queen of versions," being a translation of the Scriptures into the ARMENIAN tongue. Previous to his time his countrymen had no alphabet of their own, but used the Persian, Syrian, or Greek letters when writing their own language. Mesrobe invented an alphabet suitable to the genius of their tongue, which gave rise to the tradition, still prevalent among that people, that having prayed, God favored him with a vision, in which the form of his letters was revealed to him. Among the Biblical scholars of this century the name of the empress EUDOCIA deserves mention. Accused by her husband (Theodosius the younger) of conjugal infidelity, she was banished to the Holy Land, where she devoted herself to religious and literary pursuits. She versified several books of the Old Testament, and paraphrased the prophetic writings. To her also is attributed the authorship of a curious work, called *Ὁμηρόκεντρα*, (Homerocentra.) This was a life of Jesus Christ, composed entirely of verses, and parts of verses, selected out of the Iliad and Odyssey of Homer. She wrote also a poem on the martyrdom of Cyprian. It is supposed, on authority deemed sufficient by our author, that in this century some parts of the Scriptures were translated into the *Bearla Feni*, or ancient IRISH. It is known that about this time PATRICK, a native of Scotland, visited that island, and instructed the inhabitants in the use of Roman letters. Patrick was a man of learning; and so great was his zealous devotion that it is related of him that he daily sung the Apocalypse, and the whole Psalter thrice; that he preached, and prayed, and baptized; and frequently mortified his body, by standing up to his waist in a fountain of water, while he chanted a hundred psalms. He was canonized after his death, which occurred about the year 460; became the patron saint of Ireland, and is universally styled *Saint Patrick*.

It has been supposed that the gospel had been preached in BRITAIN at a very early period; and there is a tradition that the apostle Paul visited that island. Whatever truth there may be in these conjectures, it is evident, that in the *sixth* century heathenism was there universally prevalent. The celebrated GREGORY the First, one of the holiest and most learned men who ever filled the Papal chair, sent a band of forty missionaries, at the head of whom was the monk *Augustine*, for the purpose of religiously instructing the Anglo-Saxons. Some particulars relative to the first Gregory are given by our author; which, while they evince a spirit totally

at variance with that which has actuated most of his successors, attest the propriety of the title, *Great*, by which he is known in the Papal calendar. He was profoundly learned, modest, a great lover of the Scriptures, and a decided enemy to all kinds of religious persecution. Said he,—

“The Scriptures are infinitely elevated above all other instructions. They instruct us in the truth; they call us to heaven; they change the heart of him who reads them by producing desires more noble and excellent in their nature than what were formerly experienced; formerly they groveled in the dust, they are now directed to eternity. The sweetness and condescension of the Holy Scriptures comfort the weak and imperfect; their obscurity exercises the strong. Not so superficial as to induce contempt, not so mysterious as to deserve neglect, the use of them redoubles our attachment to them; while, assisted by the simplicity of their expressions and the depth of their mysteries, the more we study them the more we love them. They seem to expand and rise in proportion as those who read them rise and increase in knowledge. Understood by the most illiterate, they are always new to the most learned.”

Strangely would this language sound within the halls of the Vatican in this age of light; and it is indeed wonderful that the name of this pope should still be venerated by his successors. But Gregory did not merely eulogize the Scriptures. He studied them himself, and encouraged others to study them. He molded his own character by their requirements, and sought by gentleness, and patience, to win souls to Christ. He utterly repudiated all compulsion and guile as means for Christianizing the heathen, and contended that the only weapons lawful for this purpose were light and love. With his missionaries to Britain he sent a library of books;—few indeed in number, but of great value. In this century also the celebrated COLUMBA, an Irishman by birth, founded a monastery at *Iona*, an island of the Hebrides, in the Scottish territory. Through his instrumentality many of the northern Picts were converted. After a long life of incessant toil for the glory of God and the good of his fellows, he died on the 9th of June, A. D. 597; but Iona continued for ages to be the seat of piety and learning; “the luminary of the Caledonian regions,” says Dr. Johnson, “whence savage clans, and roving barbarians, derived the benefits of knowledge and the blessings of religion.” Thus while Ireland was indebted to Scotland for her patron saint, she more than repaid her neighbors by the zeal and indefatigable industry of her COLUMBA.

From this time until the invention of PRINTING, in the fifteenth century, great darkness brooded over the face of the whole earth.

Now and then indeed a faint star glimmered in the moral firmament; but as a general thing, ignorance and superstition everywhere prevailed. Bishops, archbishops, and kings were unable to sign their own names. Books were scarce, and the ability to read was almost as rare. In the time of Charlemagne, the superior ecclesiastics were directed, by an imperial edict, to ascertain whether their subordinate priests could *read* the Epistles and Gospels. The most absurd mummeries were practiced; the most stupid superstitions prevailed. The "*feast of the ass*," concerning which our author has preserved some curious particulars, was instituted in the tenth century. It originated in France, but was practiced in England, Germany, and other countries. From an account of this festival, as given by M. Millin, it seems that the ceremonies were not only ludicrous, but licentious and profane, to an extent almost incredible, when we consider that the principal actors were the professed teachers of Christianity, and that the wretched farce was deemed a *religious* ceremony. It continued to be observed with various modifications from one generation to another, and was not finally abandoned until near the end of the sixteenth century. A curious instance of superstition, which occurred in the eleventh century, may be quoted as a specimen of the state of the religious world at that time:—Anselm, bishop of Laon, in France, being informed that a great part of the gold and precious stones belonging to the church had been stolen, directed that an infant child from each parish should be thrown into a tub of *holy* water. From the parish to which belonged the child who sunk, a child out of every house was to be taken, and served in the same way. Thus the guilty family would be detected; each of whom was to be thrown into the water, and he who sunk was to be deemed the thief. The directions of the prelate were obeyed; and, what is more strange, it is said they proved successful in discovering the offender.\* Fragments and scraps of the word of God, strangely mingled with idle tales, romantic fictions, and absurd legends, formed, to a great extent, the literary stores, even of those who seemingly were impressed with the dignity and responsibility of their holy calling. The time of the monks, and of others who regarded themselves as guides of the blind, was occupied in paraphrasing parts of the Scriptures, in composing imaginary lives of the saints, and in transcribing the most ridiculous fables. Theodoric, the abbot of St. Evroul, in France, a truly learned man, in order to inspire his monks with diligence in this holy work of transcribing, related the success of a certain

\* Berrington, *Lives of Abelard and Heloisa*.



brother of their order, who, when he appeared at the gate of heaven, was refused admittance on account of his numerous sins; but on referring to his labors when on earth, it was found that the number of letters in the works which he had transcribed exceeded by one the sins with which he was charged, and on account of that *one majority*, St. Peter turned the key, and passed him in to the abodes of the blessed. Toward the close of the eleventh century, the Roman pontiff first promulgated the doctrine, ever since acted on by his successors, that it is wrong for the laity to read, or be in possession of the unadulterated word of God. Gregory VII., declared by Mosheim to be "the most audacious priest that ever sat in the apostolic chair," in reply to a request from the king of Bohemia, that his people might be favored with the Scriptures in the Slavonian language, thus speaks:—

*"It is the will of God that his word should be hidden, lest it should be despised if read by every one; and if, in condescension to the weakness of the people, the contrary has been permitted, it is a fault which ought to be corrected. The demand of your subjects is imprudent. I shall oppose it with the authority of St. Peter: and you ought, for the glory of God, to resist it with all your power."*\*

As a substitute for the Bible, the lives of saints, and other similar productions, remarkable neither for their ingenuity nor the purity of their morality, were almost universally read in the temples of the Most High. Hence they received the name—Legends, or things that *might be read*, in contradistinction from the Bible, which was prohibited. Many of the professed translations, which were made during this period, were mere paraphrases in rude poetry; interspersed with silly conceits, and with frequent distortions and perversions of Scripture facts. RELIGIOUS DRAMAS had now become popular; the churches were converted into theatres; the monks and other religious teachers, dressed in appropriate costume, enacted the various characters in these farces; and the whole of God's revelation was distorted, and sacrilegiously perverted for the amusement of the people. The history of the creation; the deluge; the life of Moses, and other worthies of the

\* Basnage, Hist. de l'Eglise. It was not, however, until the thirteenth century, at the Council of Toulouse, justly called the infamous, that a public decree was issued, forbidding universally the Scriptures to the laity. The canon is in the words following, as given by our author from *Labbei Sacro-Sancta Concilia*:—*Prohibemus etiam, ne libras Veteris Testamenti aut Laici permittantur habere: nisi forte Psalterium, vel breviarium pro divinis officiis, aut Horas Beatæ Mariæ, aliquis ex devotione habere velit. Sed ne præmissos libras habeant in vulgari translata, arctissime inhibemus.*

Old Testament ; the annunciation, and the birth of the Saviour ; together with his miracles, his passion, his death, and resurrection, formed the subjects of these dramas. In one of them a representation of *hell* was introduced, and a priest personated the rich man, calling thence to Lazarus, who was seen aloft in Abraham's bosom. The fiery furnace of Nebuchadnezzar was a favorite subject ; and the three youths, thrown therein by the king's command, were heard praising the God of Israel in the midst of the flames. Our author says, quoting from Warton,—

"The composers of the mysteries did not think the plain and probable events of the Holy Scriptures sufficiently marvelous for an audience who wanted only to be surprised. They frequently selected their materials from books which had more the air of romance, particularly the legends and pseudo-Gospels. They also introduced into them the most ludicrous and licentious conversations and actions. In a mystery of the massacre of the holy innocents, a low buffoon of Herod's court is introduced, desiring of his lord to be dubbed a knight, that he might be properly qualified to go on the adventure of killing the mothers of the children of Bethlehem. This tragical business is treated with the most ridiculous levity. The good women of Bethlehem attack our knight-errant with their spinning-wheels, break his head with their distaffs, abuse him as a coward, and send him home to Herod as a recreant champion, with much ignominy."—Vol. i, p. 332.

The same author gives an outline of the first part of one of these dramas that was enacted at Chester, in England, so late as 1327:—

"God enters, creating the world! He breathes life into Adam, leads him into paradise, and opens his side while sleeping. Adam and Eve appear naked, and *not ashamed*; and the old serpent enters lamenting his fall. He converses with Eve. She eats of the forbidden fruit, and gives part to Adam. They propose, according to the stage direction, to make themselves *subligacula a foliis*, &c.; cover themselves with leaves, and converse with God. God's curse. The serpent *exit*, hissing. They are driven from paradise by four angels, and the cherubim, with a flaming sword. Adam appears digging the ground and Eve spinning," &c.

Some of these performances were yet more revolting ; and the smile occasioned by their ludicrous associations is chased away, by an involuntary shudder at the thought that the professing teachers of Christianity should ever have sanctioned, and led the people into such horrible blasphemy. The Saviour himself, and the Father, and the Holy Ghost were personated. The tremendous scene of Calvary was mimicked, and the dread realities of the judgment were presented for the amusement and the criticism of the thoughtless rabble. The darkness of the thirteenth century

gave birth to still greater abominations. The Psalter of the blessed Virgin, supposed to be from the pen of Cardinal Bonaventure, made its appearance, and was imposed upon the credulous as an inspired work. A verse or two will give the reader an idea of its character :—

“Blessed is the man that loveth thy name, O Virgin Mary ; thy grace shall comfort his soul.”

“O come let us sing unto our lady ; let us make a joyful noise to Mary our queen, that brings salvation.”

“The Lord said unto our lady, Sit thou, my mother, at my right hand.”

A new Gospel was also ushered into being about the same time. Its author is unknown, but its absurdities were too glaring even for the benighted priesthood of that age, and it was condemned to be publicly burned. Of the ignorance, gluttony, and lewdness of the ecclesiastics generally, and which seemingly continued to increase during the darkness of the middle ages, lamentable evidence is given by our author. It must not be supposed, however, that, even during this period, God had left himself without witness. Genuine piety and zeal existed ; and there were a few, in each succeeding age, who revered the word of God. Early in the eighth century it was translated into *Arabic* by John, archbishop of Seville ; and it would be unpardonable not to mention with respect the name of the venerable BEDE, who about the same time translated the Gospel of St. John into ANGLO-SAXON. By birth an Englishman, and qualified by education for great usefulness, Bede was remarkable not less for his piety than his persevering industry. He wrote on various subjects ; and translated, as he himself tells us, “the creed, and the Lord’s prayer into English, for the benefit of ignorant presbyters.” “He was called the *wise Saxon* by his contemporaries,” says Dr. Henry, “and *venerable Bede* by posterity ; and as long as great modesty, piety, and learning united in one character, are the objects of veneration among mankind, his memory must be revered.” ALFRED, surnamed the Great, ascended the throne in 871. His name will ever be held in grateful remembrance as a wise legislator, a patriotic king, and a pious man. To him our ancestors were indebted for that safeguard of liberty, TRIAL BY JURY ; and, says our author, “the sentiment expressed by him in his will, will never be forgotten : ‘*It is just that the English should for ever remain as free as their own thoughts.*’” Alfred encouraged the reading and translation of the Scriptures throughout his dominion, and formed the princely design of rendering the whole of the Old and New Testaments into English.



He did not live to accomplish his great work, but was called away while engaged upon the Psalms of David.

In the tenth century, ELFRIC, a Saxon monk, who was afterward consecrated archbishop of Canterbury, translated into the vernacular tongue those parts of the Old Testament which he deemed of most importance to his countrymen. He wrote also a number of homilies, was the author of a Saxon grammar and dictionary, and of a "Compendium of the Old and New Testaments." Many of the sentiments advanced in his writings are truly evangelical, and his homilies are, to the student who gropes amid the darkness of the age in which he lived, like an oasis in the desert. He says,—

"Whoever would be one with God, must often pray, and often read the Holy Scriptures. For when we pray, we speak to God; and when we read the Bible, God speaks to us.—As the body is nourished by natural food, so the sublimer man, that is, the soul, is nourished by the divine sayings, according to the words of the psalmist: 'How sweet are thy words unto my taste! Yea, sweeter than honey to my mouth.'—*The whole of the Scriptures* are written for our salvation, and by them we obtain knowledge of the truth."—*Homily on "Search the Scriptures."*

Want of space forbids us to enlarge on the lesser lights which successively appeared, from this time, until the immortal BACON flashed like a meteor athwart the midnight of the thirteenth century. He was born in Somersetshire, England, in the year 1214. For profound intellect, far-reaching thought, and the number of useful and surprising discoveries made by him, he has had probably no equal, certainly no superior.\* Amid his multifarious engagements he found time to turn his attention to the sacred writings, and endeavored to awaken the Roman pontiff to the importance of their general circulation. He first advanced the idea, which subsequent ages have tended to confirm, that the *rudiments of all science are to be found in the sacred pages*. He declared, boldly, that all the evils existing under Christian governments arose from the universal ignorance of the word of God. He

\* Among the discoveries of Bacon are enumerated: "the discovery of the exact length of the solar year, and a method of correcting all the errors in the calendar, of the art of making reading glasses, the camera obscura, microscopes, telescopes, and various other mathematical and astronomical instruments; of the composition of gunpowder, and the nature of phosphorus; the method of making elixirs, tinctures, solutions, and of performing many other chymical operations; of the art of combining and employing the mechanical powers in the construction of machines capable of producing the most extraordinary effects; and of various remedies in the science of medicine."

insisted that no one who was not acquainted with the Scriptures in the original was worthy of the priesthood; and even declared that the common people should be taught the Hebrew and Greek languages. By means of a universal grammar which he had prepared, and which is unfortunately lost, he gave it as his clear conviction, that a few days' study would suffice to make a person of ordinary capacity master of the Hebrew, Greek, Latin, and Arabic. As a reward for the benefits conferred by him on the age in which he lived, and on all succeeding time, he was doomed to drag out many weary years in solitary imprisonment. Truly may it be said that his contemporaries loved darkness rather than light. He died A. D. 1292. In this century, also, appeared the first *Concordance* of the Bible, the result of many years of labor. Its author was HUGUES DE ST. CHER, better known by his Latinized name, *Hugo de Sancto Caro*. He was a native of France, and the author of several other Biblical works of great merit. To him has generally been attributed the division of the Bible into chapters, as we now have it. The year 1380 was rendered for ever memorable by the completion of the whole Bible in English by the celebrated JOHN DE WICLIF, who has been justly styled the *morning star of the Reformation*. With his history the reader is probably familiar, but several important particulars relative to his life and labors, which are not generally known, may be found in the pages of our author.

The art of PRINTING, which was discovered in the early part of the fifteenth century, has justly been regarded as the greatest merely temporal benefit ever conferred upon our race. It has been compared, in its beneficial effects, to the gift of tongues on the memorable day of Pentecost; and without irreverence, we may date the commencement of the flight of the apocalyptic angel from the hour when GUTTENBERG and FUST sent forth, with what was then deemed miraculous rapidity, their printed copies of the everlasting Gospel. As was to have been expected, the new art had many obstacles to contend with. *Fust*, (or *Faustus*,) from the rapidity with which he executed his supposed manuscripts, and especially from their accuracy, and the price at which he disposed of them, was declared to be in league with the devil; and, with difficulty, after revealing his secret, was saved from death at the stake. The transcribers,\* or those who obtained a livelihood by copying manuscripts, perceiving their craft to be in danger, were

\* The number of those who obtained a living in this way must have been, at this time, immense. There were upward of *ten thousand* in Paris and Orleans only.

loud in their denunciations of this "abominable discovery;" and the incumbents of the Papal chair began to feel the forebodings of that terrible blow which the press was about to inflict upon them. Bulls were issued, prohibiting certain books, among which, of course, the word of God was always in part or in whole included, and the thunders of the Vatican threatened with present and eternal damnation all who should venture to print any thing without first obtaining the sanction of the Romish hierarchy. But these anathemas, in general, were unheeded, and, in many instances, produced an effect directly opposite to the intention of their authors. That a book had been condemned and denounced was sufficient to excite the curiosity of the people, and their anxiety to obtain it. Jortin, in his *Life of Erasmus*, tells us, that a certain bookseller having on hand a large edition of that author's *Colloquies*, circulated a report that the work was prohibited by Papal authority; and thus, in a short time, disposed of *twenty-four thousand copies*. And now the fires of persecution began again to rage. Multitudes, whose only crime consisted in having or reading the Scriptures in their own language, were punished by imprisonment, and fines, and confiscation. Others were tortured in the dungeons of the inquisition, and many were burned at the stake.

In the year 1516 ERASMUS published an edition of the Greek Testament, with a Latin version, and, subsequently, paraphrases of various parts of the sacred writers. He wrote also several works, attacking with great severity, and the most pungent satire, the corruptions of the priesthood. In his preface to the New Testament he says,—

"I differ exceedingly from those who object to the Scriptures being translated into the vernacular tongues, and read by the illiterate: as if Christ had taught so obscurely, that none could understand him but a few theologians; or as if the Christian religion depended on being kept secret. The mysteries of kings ought, perhaps, to be concealed, but the mystery of Christ strenuously urges publication. I would have even the meanest of women to read the Gospels, and Epistles of St. Paul; and I wish that the Scriptures might be translated into all languages, that they might be known and read, not only by the Irish and Scots, but also by Saracens and Turks. Assuredly the first step is to make them known. For this very purpose, though many might ridicule, and others might frown, I wish the husbandman might repeat them at his plough, the weaver sing them at his loom, the traveler beguile the tediousness of the way by the entertainment of their stories, and the general discourse of all Christians be concerning them, since what we are in ourselves, such we almost constantly are in our common conversation."



Of course, owing to passages like this, the writings of Erasmus were condemned ; and he himself only escaped the utmost fury of the Romish clergy by the basest and most cowardly dissimulation. His works, however, prepared the way for the labors of the heroic Saxon reformer ; and hence arose the saying, " Erasmus laid the egg, but LUTHER hatched it."

Aided by MELANCTHON, Luther translated the New Testament into German, which he published in 1522 ; to which he added, in 1534, the several books of the Old Testament. His translation is remarkable for its purity and elegance ; and it soon became the standard of the German language. Speaking of the difficulties in his way, while engaged in this great work, he says,—“ How laborious the task to force the Hebrew writers to speak German, which they resist like the nightingale refusing to quit its delightful melody to imitate the coarse notes of the monotonous cuckoo.” Again, with feelings similar to those which all have experienced who have endeavored to transfuse the spirit of an ancient classic into their own vernacular, “ We find,” says he, “ so much difficulty in translating Job, arising from the sublimity of his style, that he appears much more impatient of our translation than of the consolation of his friends, or he would certainly have sat for ever on the dunghill, unless, perhaps, the author meant that his book should never be translated.” Luther’s Bible was exceedingly popular ; and, for a long time, almost every year called for a new edition. In the space of a few years it is said a hundred thousand copies were issued from the office of one printer. There is now, in one of the private libraries of Great Britain, Luther’s own copy of his translation, being the volume which he used until his death. It is chiefly valuable for his manuscript notes, and those of his learned colleague Melancthon. The Romish opposition to this translation was very great, and exhibited itself in a variety of ways.\* It was attacked by the grossest falsehood and calumny ; was declared to be heretical, and worthy only to be burnt. To show still further its delinquencies a new version was issued at Dresden, which claimed to be correct, and to expose the glaring errors committed by Luther. When examined, however, it was found to be nothing more nor less than Luther’s own version, with an alteration, here and there, calculated to render it more acceptable to the benighted

\* All the vile epithets in the dictionary were culled out to defame and blacken the character of the great reformer. A singular instance of ingenious blackguardism (there is no more expressive word) is found in the following quintuple acrostic, published by Andreas Frusius—a French Jesuit, in 1582. He calls it,—

votaries of holy mother.\* In addition to his labors as a translator, Luther composed several sacred melodies, one of which, "Old Hundred," has probably been sung more frequently than any other that has ever been given to the world.† He wrote also commentaries on select portions of the Bible, which were of great benefit in urging on the glorious Reformation.

Under the sanction of GUSTAVUS VASA, the Scriptures were translated into *Swedish* about the middle of the sixteenth century; and in Denmark, *Christiern Pedersen* was a bold advocate for the dissemination of the word of God in the dialect of the people. The very essence of sublimated heresy is found in a preface to the Epistles and Gospels prepared by him. Says he,—

"What doth it profit plain country people to hear the Gospels read to them in Latin, if they be not afterward repeated to them in their own tongue?—St. John and St. Luke wrote Gospels to the Greeks in Greek, in order that they might fully understand them. St. Matthew wrote in Hebrew to those who spake Hebrew.—If any of them had written Gospels to the kingdom of Denmark, they would assuredly have written them in plain Danish, that all might have understood them; for every one ought to be able to read them in his native tongue. Let not any one imagine that they are more sacred in one language than they are in another. They are just as good in Danish and German, when properly translated, as they are in Latin!"

"ELOGIUM MARTINI LUTHERI, EX IPSIUS NOMINE ET COGNOMINE.

Magni crepus	Mendax	Morosus	Morio	Monstrum
Ambitiosus	Atrox	Astutus	Apostata	Agaso
Ridiculus	Rhetor	Rabiosus	Rabula	Raptor
Tabificus	Tumidus	Tenebrosus	Transfuga	Turpis
Impius	Inconstans	Impostor	Iniquus	Ineptus
Nycticorax	Nebulo	Nugator	Noxa	Nefandus
Ventosus	Vanus	Vilis	Vulpecula	Vecors
Schismaticus	Stolidus	Seducator	Simia	Scurra
Lascivus	Leno	Larvatus	Latro	Lanista
Ventripotens	Vultur	Vinosus	Vappa	Voluptas
Tartareus	Torris	Tempestas	Turbo	Tyrannus
Hæresiarcha	Horrendus	Hypocrita	Hydra	Hermaphroditus
Erro	Execrandus	Effrons	Effronis	Erinnis
Retrogradus	Reprobis	Resupinus	Rana	Rebellis
Vesanus	Varius	Veterator	Vipera	Virus
Sacrilegus	Satanas	Sentina	Sophista	Scelestus."

\* The reader need not be reminded of a similar trick perpetrated by one of the Protestant family in our own day.—*Verbum Sat.*

† The celebrated Handel testifies to the great merit of Luther as a musical composer, by saying that he had often borrowed from him, and inserted whole passages of Luther's composition in his Oratorios.

It was, however, to the learning and zealous labors of HANS TAUSEN, who has been justly called the Danish Luther, that Denmark was mainly indebted for the dissemination of the cardinal principles of the great reformer. In a sermon, preached by him on Good Friday, 1524, he had the temerity to advance and defend the doctrine of justification by faith, which so exasperated his ecclesiastical superiors, that he was condemned to a dungeon; and after his release at the instance of powerful friends, he was sent into exile. Again and again was he imprisoned, but with undaunted energy and untiring zeal he continued to scatter the seeds of truth. Even when in prison, from the gratings of his window, he denounced the errors of Popery, and when released, finding the doors of the churches shut against him, he "mounted a gravestone in the church-yard, and proclaimed the glad tidings of salvation to numerous audiences." The name of *Hans Tausen* ought to be enshrined in the heart of every lover of God's uncorrupted word. He died in 1561, and his memory is blessed.

The leaven of the Reformation continued to spread, successively, through *Iceland*, into the language of which island the New Testament was translated in 1539; *Hungary*, *Finland*, and *Switzerland*, ever memorable as the birth-place of ZWINGLE; into the dialects of each of which countries the Bible, in whole, or in part, was translated about the same time. Some of the means used by the infuriated Romanists to check the spread of truth, were in themselves ludicrous, and others present a lamentable picture of the horrible cruelties inflicted by man upon his brother, in the name of that Being whose command to all is, "Search the Scriptures." Edicts were issued forbidding the pestilent doctrines of Luther to be preached or listened to; it was made criminal to read the word of God, or to hear it read, or even to have it in possession.\* At

\* The following are the express words contained in the regulation of the popes to prohibit the use of the Bible. We are indebted for the translation to the "Curiosities of Literature," by J. D. Israeli, Esq.

"As it is manifest by *experience*, that if the use of the holy writers is permitted in the vulgar tongue, more evil than profit will arise, *because* of the temerity of man; it is for this reason all Bibles are prohibited (*prohibentur Biblia*) with all their *parts*, whether they be printed or written, in whatever vulgar language soever; as also are prohibited all summaries or abridgments of Bibles, or any books of the holy writings, although they should only be historical, and that in whatever vulgar tongue they be written. The reading of the Bibles of *Catholic editors* may be permitted to those by whose perusal or power the *faith* may be spread, and who will not *criticise* it. But this *permission* is not to be granted without an express *order* of the *bishop*, or the *inquisitor*, with the *advice* of the *curate* and *confessor*; and their permission



Antwerp, a zealous youth who had presumed to speak a few words from one of Christ's miracles was taken up, tied in a sack, and drowned. A law was published at Brussels, condemning to "death, without pardon or reprieve," all who had in their possession any prohibited books. Jacob à Liesveldt, a printer, was beheaded at Antwerp, "because in the annotations of one of his Bibles he had said, that the salvation of mankind proceeds from Christ alone!" A request for permission to read the Bible was deemed satisfactory evidence of an heretical disposition.

In England, to which country we turn with more interest than any other, the bigoted Henry VIII. obtained from the pope the title, Defender of the Faith, ever since claimed by his successors upon the throne. It was bestowed on him as a reward for publishing a book, *De septem Sacramentis*, in opposition to Luther. To no one individual, when we consider his learning, his labors, and his sufferings, are we more indebted for the triumphant spread of the Reformation, and especially for the abolition of Popery in England, than to one who has not received from any historian the attention he deserves. In contemplating the labors of Luther, Melancthon, Zuingli, and others, the name of TYNDALL has been, in a great degree, forgotten. His translation of the New Testament into English was decidedly superior to any version that had previously appeared in any language. Even at the present day it is in very few passages inferior in point of perspicuity and noble simplicity to our own authorized version. Of his first edition nearly all the copies were bought up and committed to the flames by the minions of the Papacy. Assisted by *Myles Coverdale*, Tyndall translated parts of the Old Testament also; and with apostolic boldness, everywhere contended against the powers of darkness and spiritual wickedness in high places. It was this glorious Englishman who exclaimed, in a public dispute with one of the learned doctors of the day, "*I defy the pope and all his laws; and if God spares my life, not a ploughboy in England but shall know more of God's word than he does.*" After having endured perils by land and by sea; having been imprisoned and shipwrecked; having lost all his property; having been "in perils among false brethren," betrayed by the basest treachery of a professed friend, he was at length hurried to his home by a pile of blazing fagots. At the stake his last words were, "Lord, open the king of England's eyes!"

must first be had *in writing*. He who, without permission, presumes to read the holy writings, or to have them in his possession, SHALL NOT BE DISSOLVED OF HIS SINS before he first shall have returned the Bible to his bishop."

In two years after the martyrdom of Tyndall, namely, in 1538, the Bible in the vulgar tongue was permitted, by authority, to be sold and read among his countrymen; and we cannot resist the temptation to quote a short extract, which shows the gratitude with which they received as a favor, what the God of heaven had given as a right. Says Strype,—

“It was wonderful to see with what joy this book of God was received, not only among the learned sort, and those that were noted for lovers of the Reformation, but generally all England over, among all the vulgar and common people; and with what greediness God’s word was read; and what resort to places where the reading of it was. Every body that could bought the book, or busily read it, or got others to read it to them, if they could not themselves; and divers more elderly people learned to read on purpose. And even little boys flocked among the rest to hear portions of the Holy Scripture read.”—Vol. ii, p. 99.

During the reign of the fickle and inconstant Henry, a tyrant both in church and state, who sometimes appeared to favor, and at others relentlessly opposed the Reformation, no less than fourteen editions of the whole Bible and eighteen of the New Testament appeared. Between his death, which occurred in 1547, and the accession of JAMES, (the sixth, of Scotland, and the first of England,) in 1602, there were many eminent Biblical scholars, and numerous editions of the Scriptures were printed in various parts of Europe. The pages of our author are peculiarly rich in facts, anecdotes, and brief sketches of the lives of celebrated individuals during this period. The French version, commonly known as “the Sword Bible,” from the representation of a sword on the title-page, was made by *Robert Olivetan*, assisted by the celebrated CALVIN, who prepared the preface. It is extremely difficult to reconcile the sentiments put forth by the Genevan reformer, in that preface, with those which he is known afterward to have held, and which are universally distinguished as—Calvinism.\* His

\* The following extracts from this preface, says our author, are quoted in Beloe’s *Anecdotes of Literature, &c.*, from Dr. Winchester’s Dissertation on the Seventeenth Article:—

“Tandem igitur ubi adfuit plenum illud tempus ac dies a domino præordinata, adstitit coram Messias ille tot retro sæculis exoptatissimus: atque idem ille omnia cumulate præstitit quæ erant ad OMNIUM redemptionem necessaria. Neque vero intra unum Israel tantum illud vereficum stetit, cum potius ad UNIVERSUM HUMANUM GENUS usque porrigendum esset: quia per unum Christum UNIVERSUM HUMANUM GENUS reconciliandum erat deo, uti his novi foederis tabulis continetur et amplissime demonstratur.”

Again,—

authorship in this matter is beyond question, and, paradoxical as it may seem, Calvin was not at that time a Calvinist. The celebrated *Stephens*, a name familiar to all who have much acquaintance with the early editions of the Bible, was also by birth a Frenchman. His editions of the Bible were numerous, and they are all remarkable for their exceeding accuracy. It is related of him, that he hung up his printed sheets in public, and offered rewards to any one who could point out a typographical error: a proceeding which would be rather hazardous even by the most correct publishers of the present day. "Greater glory," says the historian De Thou, "has redounded to Francis I., by the industry of Robert Stephens alone, than from all the illustrious, warlike, and pacific undertakings in which he was engaged."

The Council of Trent having solemnly decreed the Latin Vulgate to be the only authentic version of the Scriptures, a large edition was published in 1590. Pope Sixtus V. superintended the press, and sent it forth, under what he styles the "plenitude of our apostolic power;" at the same time anathematizing, in advance, any who should question its accuracy and infallibility. It was "enjoined to be received and accounted as a true, lawful, authentic, and undoubted copy, in all public and private disputations, lectures, sermons, or expositions." Unfortunately for "apostolic" infallibility, numerous and glaring errors were soon discovered on almost every page, and the next incumbent of the Papal chair endeavored to recall and destroy the entire edition. In this, however, he was not successful, a few copies being still extant. In 1592 another edition was issued by Clement VIII., accompanied by a similar declaration of infallibility, and a bull, forbidding any bookseller to print or sell any Bible, not exactly conformable to it in every particular. Between the two editions, both alike infallible, there have been pointed out *two thousand variations*, some of whole verses, and many decidedly contradictory.

The practice of turning parts of the Scripture into rhyme prevailed extensively during this period. In England, *Sternhold* published his "Psalmes of David in metre," and he is supposed, also, to be the author of "Certayne Chapters of the Proverbs of Solomon drawen into metre." The book of Genesis was also versified

"Ad istam Hæreditatem (regni paterni scilicet) vocamur OMNES SINE PERSONARUM ACCEPTATIONE, Masculi, Fœminæ, Summi, Infimi, Heri, Servi, Magistri, Discipuli, Doctores, Idiatæ, Judæi, Græci, Galli, Romani. NEMO HINC EXCLUDITUR, qui mado Christum, qualis affertur a Patre in salutem omnium admittat, et admissum complectatur."—See Beloe's *Anecdotes of Literature and Scarce Books*, vol. iii, p. 21.



under the title of a "Hive full of Honey," and a volume called a "Handful of Honeysuckles," consisted, among other things, of "Blessings out of Deuteronomie." Dr. *Pye* turned a part of the Acts of the Apostles into very respectable doggrel; and great ingenuity is evinced in the versification of the Psalms\* by *Matthew Parker*, under whose superintendence that celebrated edition, known as the "BISHOP'S BIBLE," was printed at London in 1568. Parker was archbishop of Canterbury, a man of extensive learning, and a great patron of literature. His Bible continued to be the authorized version in England until superseded by the translation made under authority of King James.

Of the celebrated men engaged in the preparation of King James's Bible, while their *names* are familiar to every scholar, but little more is known, even by the most persevering antiquarian. Some facts in the history of each have been gleaned by our author;

\* The following specimen of *Pye's* Acts of the Apostles is given by our author:—

Chap. xix, 1. "It chaunced in Iconium,  
As they oft tymes did use,  
Together they into did come  
The sinagoge of Jeus.

2. "Where they did preache and only seke  
God's grace them to atcheve;  
That so they speke to Jue and Greke  
That many did bileve."—Vol. ii, p. 269.

The *jingle* of Parker's Psalms has never been exceeded, whatever may be thought of its *poetic* merit. Here is a sample:—

"To feede my neede : he will me leade  
To pastures greene and fat :  
He forth brought me : in libertie,  
To waters delicate.

"My soul and hart, he did conuart  
To me he shewth the path :  
Of right wisness : in holiness  
His name such vertue hath.

"Yea, though I go through death his wo  
His vale and shadow wyde :  
I fear no dart : with me thou art  
With rod and staffe to guide.

"Thou shalt provyde a table wyde  
For me against theyr spite.  
With oyle my head thou hast bespread  
My cup is fully dight."—*Ibid.*, pp. 301, 302.

and while every lover of that "most excellent of all excellent versions" cannot but regret that their biographical remains are scanty, he will be thankful for the industry and zeal evinced in this particular in the volumes before us. Of *John Reynolds* the following story is told, which, although we have often met with it, we had always supposed to be a fiction. It is said that John, at first, was a zealous Papist; and his brother William an equally zealous Protestant. In a disputation between them they argued with such earnestness and power that each converted the other! The Papist became a Protestant, and the Protestant embraced Popery. In their doctrinal peculiarities the translators seem to have been about equally divided. *Thompson*, "a Dutchman, born of English parents," and *Overall*, "a prodigious learned man," were at the head of those who favored the sentiments of Arminius; while Calvinism had advocates equally able in the learned *Chadderton*, and the persecuted *Ward*. By some, the new version was thought to lean too much toward Calvinism; and by others, that in places it favored Arminian sentiments more than the original would strictly warrant; a fact which, while it may serve as an argument for the general fidelity of the whole, would seem pretty clearly to indicate that no other translation can be made which will be at all likely to supersede it among the myriads who speak the English language. From the date of its appearance until the present time the Bible has been translated into a great multitude of languages, and copies have been multiplied by means of Bible societies and otherwise, until they have become more in number than the stars of heaven; yea, like the sands upon the sea-shore—innumerable.\* Perhaps the calculation would not be extravagant, that during the last quarter of a century copies of the Bible have been issued at the rate of sixty a minute, or one for every second during that period, and the work is still onward; our own Society (the American) states in its last Report, that the number printed at their press the past year is two hundred and seventy-six thousand, and that the demands upon them are still increasing. Necessarily, the cost of the word of God has been very greatly reduced; and now, what was once a fortune to its possessor, and deemed of sufficient importance to require legally attested documents to pass it from one to another, is within the reach of the poorest laborer, at the price of half a day's toil. Nay, latterly the voice of the Bride has

\* The first copy of the Bible ever printed in America was the translation made by the apostolic *Eliot*. It was in the dialect of the Mohegan Indians; was printed, in quarto, at Cambridge, Mass.; the New Testament in 1661, and the Old in 1664.

been heard, from the lips of her agents, in the cottages of the poor, and in the hovels of the destitute, saying, "Whosoever will, let him take the water of life *freely*," "without money and without price."

We most cordially recommend these volumes to the reader; and although, in reviewing what we have written, we seem like the man who, having a house to sell, carried about a brick as a *sample*, yet are we satisfied that he who buys the house will be delighted with its solidity, its convenient arrangements, and its beauty; nay, that he will thank us for turning his attention to it even by so small a sample.

F.

Danbury, Conn., March, 1843.

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ART. II.—*History of Europe, from the Commencement of the French Revolution in 1789 to the Restoration of the Bourbons in 1815.* By ARCHIBALD ALISON, F.R.S.E., Advocate. In four volumes. New-York: Harper & Brothers. 1842.

THIS republication of the English edition of Mr. Alison's work has made accessible to the American reader one of the most valuable histories of which modern literature can boast. The period of the French revolution abounds in great events beyond any equal term of years in far receding history. It may, indeed, be asserted that the events of nearly three centuries, which followed upon the great eras of the discovery of the new world and the Reformation, were thrown into shade by those which here crowded upon a single generation. The history of this period involves the fates and fortunes of Europe, and of European dependencies throughout the globe. As it unfolded its ample page to the contemplation of the historian in all its variety and vastness of revolutions, wars, and national vicissitudes, it invited him to a noble and arduous task. Such a history was yet wanting in English literature. A mass of rich materials lay accumulated in the different languages of Europe, the more valuable for that much had been contributed by the actors themselves in great transactions, or by observant and not unconcerned spectators. Incited and encouraged by the study of these historic materials, Mr. Alison undertook to supply the void in his country's literature, and every chapter in his volumes bears testimony to the diligence and extent of his researches, and to the fidelity and impartiality of his record



of facts. The author's sincere admiration for the high faculties and heroic qualities called forth by great occasions, and his strong conception of the important principles of government and administration developed in this wonderful chapter of man's destinies, with the great lessons taught to rulers and to people, give a thoughtful and elevated tone to the whole strain of his History.

In the great twofold division of political reasoners and thinkers at the present day, Mr. Alison is decidedly a conservative, but neither national partialities nor political preferences have been allowed to bias his statement of facts; and to place his volumes above any such charge he is very minute in his references to authorities, and assures the reader, that "he will find almost every fact in the internal history of the revolution supported by two republican and one royalist authority, and every event in the military narrative drawn from at least two writers on the part of the French, and one on that of their opponents."

The revolution gave not only an entire new form to the government of France, but in its convulsive struggles for a long time threatened to shake the whole frame of European policy, which it had been the study of successive generations to construct for the common security of independent states. The predisposing causes of the violence of the revolution, and of the ills it wrought for surrounding nations, lay deep in the foundations of society, and were traceable to remote ages. The aspect of man's social condition in Europe is different from that of which we in this country have experience. There is to be seen a marked distinction, drawn by birth, between the privileged and inferior orders, the descendants and representatives respectively of the conquering barbarian, and the vanquished inhabitants of the Roman provinces, after the western empire was shattered into fragments by northern invasion. Noble birth not only confers an invidious superiority: few in number as the nobles are, they hold the greater portion of the land, and arrogate to themselves all higher offices and dignities. The privileges of birth extended in France to all of noble descent, whether bearing title or not, and marked them from the plebeian race, or roturiers. Very different is the frame of the aristocracy of England, where title, and estate, and privileges pass to the eldest son, while the younger branches become merged in the commons of England, who, by merit and services, continually recruit the ranks and revive the vigor of the peerage, thus maintaining a harmony and a sense of common interest throughout the different classes of society. This system, founded on distinction of race, subsists to this day in all its rigor in many of the kingdoms

of Europe, and maintained itself wonderfully in France amid all the growing and counteracting influences of great advances in civilization and intelligence, until cut down with all feudal rights and privileges amid shoutings of "Liberty and equality," the early war-cry of the revolution.

The proximate causes of the revolution were the financial embarrassments of the government, which had been growing and gaining strength ever since the later days of the splendid reign of Louis XIV., all through the profligate administrations of the regent Orleans and Louis XV. In 1774 Louis XVI. succeeded to the throne of his grandfather, and to the consequences of the errors of his predecessors. The aid given by him to the British colonies in their war for independence, not only added to the national debt, but by the triumph in which the French arms shared, infused into the breasts of young and military nobles a spirit of liberty too vain and extravagant for the interests of their own order, the security of the throne, or tranquillity of the nation. It must be granted that the successful termination of the American revolution hastened the coming of the French revolution. When, however, we consider the intelligence of the age from the general diffusion of science and literature, and from a wide-spread commerce circulating the arts and knowledge no less than the products of other lands, it does seem that some great change in the frame of social life in France could not be far distant. Look but on the inequality of numbers and disproportion of property in the privileged and inferior orders. A noblesse in number two hundred thousand, a body of clergy of eighty thousand, and these orders so inconsiderable in numbers, besides personal privileges and honors, proprietors of two-thirds of the land of the kingdom. On the other hand are seen the Tiers Etat, the millions of the inhabitants of France. Surely here was, and had been, injustice and oppression; could it be expected to be much longer endured? There is a moral element latent in large and crushed masses of humanity, that, like that element in nature which explodes under strong compression, will at some chance moment, or appointed hour, shatter in ruins all above and around it.

Louis was illy fitted to contend with the difficulties of his reign. Financial embarrassments brought more distinctly into view defects and abuses in the state, which called for some effectual remedy: but all attempts made at reform or relief by the king and his successive ministers proved unavailing; a convocation of the States-General, which had not met since 1614, became the wish of the whole nation, and the king, in August, 1788, yielding to the voice

of all classes of his subjects, appointed the convocation for May of the following year. The minds of all men, in the midst of delusive hopes, were thrown into a great ferment, and schemes for the regeneration of France were the work of every busy brain. The right of suffrage for the election of deputies of the *Tiers Etat* was very comprehensive; no influence was exercised by the court or noblesse, and the members came armed with cahiers, of instructions from their constituents.

"The 5th of May, 1789, was fixed for the opening of the States-General; that was the first day of the French revolution.—On the evening before, a religious ceremony preceded the installation of the states. The king, his family, his ministers, and the deputies of the three orders, walked in procession from the church of Notre-Dame to that of St. Louis to hear mass.—First marched the clergy in grand costume with violet robes; next, the noblesse in black dresses, with gold vests, lace cravats, and hats adorned with white plumes; but the *Tiers Etat* dressed in black, with short cloaks, muslin cravats, and hats without feathers.—On the following day the assembly was opened with extraordinary pomp. Galleries, disposed in the form of an amphitheatre, were filled with a brilliant assembly of spectators; the deputies were introduced and arranged according to the order established in the last convocation of 1614. The clergy sat on the right, the nobles on the left, and the commons in front of the throne. Loud applause followed the entry of the popular leaders, especially of those who were known to have contributed to the convocation of the states. M. Neckar in particular was distinguished by the reception which he experienced. After the ministers and deputies had taken their places, the king appeared, followed by the queen, the princes, and a brilliant suite. The monarch placed himself upon his throne amid the loudest applause, and the three orders at the same instant rose and covered themselves."—Chap. iii.

The king then addressed the assembly, and a speech of M. Neckar followed. The day of ancient pomp and pageantry was, however, past. The priestly vestment and the mantle of the noble inspired no awe, respect, or fear into the breasts which beat under the plain tunic of the *Tiers Etat*; but, instead, jealousy, imbibed with hate. Financial embarrassments were no longer uppermost in their minds. Their thoughts were directed to the vast territorial domains of the noblesse, exempted from the general burdens of the state, upon the personal privileges of their order, fenced in by the invidious distinction of blood. To them, too, they saw allotted all the higher prizes in life, dignities and office in church and state; and the exclusive enjoyment of the higher ranks in the army, whose battalions were drawn from the mass of a brave and military people. The clergy had even less favor in the eyes of the



new assembly which was soon to control the destinies of France. The minds of the higher orders had for a long time been led astray by the light of an infidel philosophy, which illuminated their saloons, and was regarded by them as a harmless meteor, whose flickerings and flashes might amuse the spirits dulled with ennui and fullness of enjoyment. Religious belief once shaken or extinguished, easily did the allurements of a court, where there was little manly or statesman-like occupation, sap the fundamental morals of men who lived but by excitement. This impiety and dissoluteness of manners had in due degree extended widely among the educated, intelligent, and inquiring of the middle classes, and with a vengeful sense of wrong did they regard their degrading exclusion from posts of dignity and honor. They were intently eager to break down the barrier which separated noble from roturier, and which confined them to a lasting and degrading inferiority. It was bitterly galling to men, who had risen to eminence in the respectable professions of peaceful life, to find themselves superciliously looked down upon by those whose sole claim to superiority was ancestral blood. This distinction between noble and base born, which pervaded the provinces and capitals of France, might be the lightest of feudal chains upon the peasant doomed to ignorance and daily toil, but was sorely chafing to high minds and generous spirits. The feelings of the peasantry likewise were represented in the assembly. Besides the burdens of unequal taxation, they could enumerate among their grievances the feudal services to be rendered to the seigniors, and the tyranny of game laws, which, in matters from a pheasant's nest to a wild boar, guarded the field sports of their superiors, by penalties extending to slavery in the galleys. It was the exasperating remembrances left by the last especially which before long brought blood and conflagration upon the châteaux. Such were the sentiments and feelings which gave impulse and direction to some of the earliest measures of the States-General, after they assumed the shape and name of the National Assembly.

In the constitution of former assemblies of the States-General, the orders met and voted apart. In the present instance, the court and higher orders, overlooking the immense growth of the Tiers Etat in intellectual and moral strength, in self-estimation and wealth, since the last meeting in 1614, when they remained uncovered, and spoke only on their knees, allowed M. Neckar to double the number of their representatives, equalling them to the united number of the other two orders; a measure which, with some others of like tendency, made the emperor Napoleon say,

"It was he [Neckar] who overturned the monarchy and brought Louis XVI. to the scaffold." Confident in their own strength, they refused to constitute themselves until they should be joined by the other orders, and at length, on the 17th of June, resolved themselves into the National Assembly. After an unsuccessful attempt to suspend their sittings, in which the king was supported by the majority of the nobles and clergy, he was obliged to yield to the popular will, expressed by such men as Mirabeau, Robespierre, Sieyes, and Camus. Several of the nobles and clergy had already joined the Tiers Etat; the others, however reluctant, were, on the 24th of June, ordered by the king to take their seats in the assembly. Then were laid the broad foundations of a democratic power, which rendered utterly vain any after attempt to establish a secure and limited monarchy upon any of the ancient ground-works of the state. The disposition of the majority of the assembly tended to the destruction of the ancient institutions of the kingdom, nor were leaders wanting to plan and precipitate the work. The duke of Orleans, who had long been under the displeasure of the king, was among the foremost to join the National Assembly. He made use of his princely fortune to corrupt the fidelity of the troops in Paris, and employed bribed agents to foment discontents and plot insurrections in the capital and throughout the kingdom. Mirabeau, a noble, had been returned a deputy of the Tiers Etat. His eloquence and audacity sustained the boldness of the assembly, while the real friends of temperate reforms were borne down by numbers and higher energies. After the storming of the Bastile, the friends of order and the laws in Paris and in the provinces were too weak to contend against the armed bands of rapine and murder which anarchy had everywhere let loose and organized.

A strong indication of the evil spirit with which many had engaged in the revolution, was the meeting of the French guards on the 1st of July, seduced from duty by the bribes of the Orleans party. The rescue of the ringleaders, when arrested by a formidable mob, and their pardon at the instance of the assembly, were circumstances taken together of evil portent. The king and court had at no time confidence in Neckar or his party, and at a moment so full of alarm, resolved to trust themselves to the friends of the throne. A large body of troops was collected at Versailles, and placed under the command of Marshal De Broglie, with a design of awing both the capital and the assembly; as a preliminary step, Neckar, who disapproved of collecting the troops, was dismissed, and ordered to quit the kingdom. The dismissal of the popular

minister sprung the mine which treachery had been contriving at Paris. The multitudes of Paris were excited to alarm and frenzy by cries that they were to be sacrificed to the troops; they seized on the arms at the Hotel des Invalides, appointed a committee at the Hotel de Ville, with authority to organize an armed force, and thus made themselves masters of the city. On the 14th pretexts for fresh alarm and rage were furnished, and they directed a successful attack upon the Bastile. The intelligence of this fatal event reached Versailles, where the assembly had been two days in session, and was made known to the king at midnight by the Duc de Liancourt. "This is a revolt," said the king after a long silence. "Sire," replied he, "it is a revolution." On the next day the king appeared in the hall of the assembly, yielded every thing; sent off the troops from Versailles and Paris. On the 17th of July the monarch visited his capital, where the assembly, Bailey, the mayor, and La Fayette, at the head of the National Guards, constituted the real sovereignty. On the day of the king's entry, the Conte d'Artois, the princes of Condé, and Conti, and Marshal de Broglie started for Brussels. Neckar was recalled, and replaced.

The fall of the Bastile shook the walls of the chateaux of France, and murder and rapine rioted in their halls. These outrages met with no punishment from the magistrate or the sword, and served but to imbolden the leading spirits in the assembly to accelerate their rash measures for the regeneration of France. Some were carried away by an honest and patriotic enthusiasm, but where there was so much rashness there could have been little wisdom or virtue. All feudal rights and privileges were surrendered by acclamation, and the property of the church was torn away by one sweeping act of confiscation. The king's refusal to sanction the declaration of the rights of man had soured the temper of the assembly, and a banquet given by the Garde du corps on the 1st of October, 1789, at Versailles, at which the royal family had been received with bursts of loyal feeling, inflamed the passions of the citizens of Paris. The agents of the duke of Orleans, who by these acts of violence secretly designed to affright away the king, and make himself lieutenant-general of the kingdom, chose this evil time (the 5th of October) to direct the march of the infuriated crowds of Paris, and of women clamoring for bread, upon the palace at Versailles. After a day and night of horrors, the royal family were conducted to Paris in a bloody triumph, which has been consigned to no grateful, yet a lasting memory in some of the most splendid passages of Burke's indignant eloquence. It



needed no piercing eye to discern the scaffold and royal riot which terminated this vista of the revolution, but it entered not into the heart of man to conceive the stern and unmitigable horrors which scowled down upon the path beyond. The Tuilleries were assigned for the residence of the king, and the assembly henceforward held their sittings in Paris.

The internal affairs of France could not but attract the attention of the cabinets of Europe, while the sympathies of monarchs were awakened by the fallen state of Louis. The counsels of Baron Breteuil, and the increasing dangers of the situation of the royal family, at length induced the king to attempt, in June, 1791, an escape from Paris to M. De Bouilli, at Montmedy. He was recognized on the route, and, with his family, intercepted and brought back from Varennes. On his return he was provisionally suspended from his functions, and the republicans wished to make his flight a pretence for his dethronement and death. Milder counsels prevailed, through the firmness of the assembly and of General La Fayette, who, with twelve hundred grenadiers of the National Guards, dispersed a formidable insurrectionary force, which had assembled in the Champs de Mars, under the conduct of the leaders of the clubs of the Jacobins and Cordeliers, who now began to make their strength felt in revolutionary movements. The king was finally reinvested with his authority, and on the 14th of September, 1791, declared his acceptance of the constitution. La Fayette, taking advantage of the moment, obtained a general amnesty for all who had been engaged in the flight of the king, or compromised by the events of the revolution. On the 29th of September the president closed the sittings of the constituent assembly, declaring "its mission accomplished." Some sunny days of fete and of spectacle yet remained for the friends of the constitution, but the Jacobins and Girondists could at will summon storms from the caverns of the clubs to disturb the public tranquillity.

The legislative assembly, from which all members of the former were by resolution excluded, met on the 1st of October, 1791. The party divisions were the Feuillants, or friends of the constitutional monarchy, the Girondists, or republicans, with Brissot for their leader, and the more violent party, whose strength lay in the clubs of the Jacobins and Cordeliers; Robespierre, Billaud Varennes, and Colloît d'Herbois, were chiefs of the first-named club; Danton, Carrier, Desmoulins, and Fabre d'Eglantine of the second. The prospects for the settlement of the state under a monarch became now fairer. Louis and his queen, it is admitted

by republican writers, were now sincerely desirous to support the constitution. In the assembly, the debates upon the decrees against the emigrants, and such of the clergy as rejected the oath to the constitution, excited the angry passions of the parties, and the king refused his assent to the last. In November an election was held for the mayor of Paris, and it was a fatal step when the court, out of jealousy of La Fayette, who was a candidate, gave their influence to Petion, who, supported by the Girondists and Jacobins, gained the election.

The French decrees against the emigrants and clergy were injurious to the interests of some of the German princes, who retained their rights in Lorraine and Alsace, since the annexation of those provinces to France. These were made subjects of remonstrance with the government by the emperor. The assembly found causes of alarm and complaint at the countenance afforded to the emigrants in the German states and their military preparations there. These subjects of complaint were not long in furnishing the assembly with pretexts for hostile measures, and on the 20th of April they extorted from the king a declaration of war against the emperor, in his capacity of king of Hungary and Bohemia. This was an unfortunate event for the royal cause, as the relationship of the queen to the emperor, in the unhappy state of her family, would be apt to excite suspicion of concert and collusion with the enemy of the nation, and Louis would be equally endangered by the fears and hopes of the people, as they rose or fell with the fluctuations of war. The king had been obliged to part with the ministry, of which Bertrand de Moleville and Delessert were members, and form a new one, in which Roland was minister for the interior, and Dumourier for foreign affairs. The refusal of the king to sanction the decree against the nonjuring priests, and to admit to his presence those who had taken the oath, with the dismissal of his guards, occasioned the dissolution of this ministry on the 10th of June. Their place was supplied by the Feuillants. The remnants of the royal party, the friends of the constitution, with La Fayette, now endeavored to check the course of the republicans, but in vain. Louis secretly made known his situation to foreign courts, and pointed out the most judicious mode of interference. But the revolutionary agents were, as usual, in advance of their adversaries. An insurrection of the Fauxbourgs was organized by Petion and the Girondists, with the Jacobins; and on the 20th of June the mob penetrated the palace, bearing emblems of the most horrid kind, and singing the revolutionary song of *Cà ira*, and subjected the king and queen to their ruffian-

like familiarities. On this occasion the king presented himself at a window of the Tuilleries, with the *bonnet rouge*, or cap of liberty, on his head, which had been handed him by one of the intruders. At this sight a young officer, who witnessed the scene from the gardens, indignantly exclaimed to his companions, "The wretches ! they should cut down the first five hundred with grape-shot, and the remainder would soon take to flight." "He lived to put his principle in practice on the same spot ; his name will never be forgotten ; it was Napoleon Bonaparte." "To be weak, is miserable, doing or suffering." Never was this maxim of juster application than in the case of the unhappy Louis. While it was in his choice to do or to suffer, he invariably chose the latter. He never had the resolution to stem, but always yielded to the current of affairs. The events of this day excited indignation throughout France. The duke de la Rochefoucault, commandant at Rouen, offered Louis an asylum there, and La Fayette besought him to repair to his quarters at Compeigne ; the National Guard proposed to form a guard for the defense of his person : he declined all these offers. This acquiescence in the actual state of circumstances proceeded more from a dread of resolute exertion than from the expectation of deliverance from his wretched condition by the allied powers of Austria and Prussia. On the 28th of June La Fayette repaired to the capital, but his cool reception by the king and queen prevented any friendly overtures for their service ; his popularity, too, was on the decline, and he returned to his army. The cause of the constitutionalists was no more. And the Girondists and republicans openly aimed at the dethronement of Louis. They lost no time in preparing for the fatal tragedy of the 10th of August, which hurled Louis from his throne, and consigned him and his family prisoners to the Temple. It commenced at midnight of the 9th, when, at the discharge of a cannon, the tocsin sounded, and the *generale* was beat in every quarter of Paris. Mr. Alison gives a vivid picture of the horrors and sufferings of that night, when the gallant gentlemen and faithful Swiss fell or were massacred in defense of a monarch unworthy of their devoted loyalty. The queen behaved as became a daughter of the empress Maria Theresa ; while the king's pusillanimity is not forgotten till we see him a doomed and helpless victim in the Temple. The advance of the duke of Brunswick into the French territory on the 25th of July, at the head of an army of more than one hundred thousand Russian and Austrian troops, and his injudicious proclamation, threatening the lives of the assembly, had roused to the utmost the passions of the people, and may account for the indis-



criminate massacre of the Swiss guards after all resistance had ceased. Roland and his colleagues were restored to the ministry, and Danton made minister of justice. The governing power was no longer in the assembly, but in the municipality of Paris and the Jacobin club, of which Robespierre, Danton, and Marat were the ruling spirits. "We must strike terror into the royalists," said Danton: the barriers were closed to prevent the escape of the destined victims, and domiciliary visits were made for their discovery and arrest. The prisons were crowded with suspected royalists and nonjuring priests. The cold-blooded murders of the 2d of September and the ensuing days surpassed in atrocity the massacre of the Swiss on the 10th of August. At two in the morning of the 2d of September the signal was given, the *generale* beat and the tocsin sounded, when three hundred hired assassins commenced the work of death, and for three days the Abbaye, the prison of the Carmes, and the religious houses, vomited forth their prisoners to fall beneath the pikes, sabres, and poignards of their assassins; while the well-disposed of the inhabitants, paralyzed with fear, suffered the bloody work to go on. Can this be Paris! that Paris of which Gibbon wrote when giving an account of the administration of his favorite Julian in Gaul?

"If Julian could now revisit the capital of France, he might converse with men of science and genius, capable of understanding and instructing a disciple of the Greeks; he might excuse the lively and graceful follies of a nation, whose marshal spirit has never been enervated by the indulgence of luxury; and he must applaud the perfection of that inestimable art, which softens, and refines, and embellishes the intercourse of social life."

The other cities of the kingdom declined the invitation of the municipality of Paris to follow their murderous example. The mind is perplexed to account for such sudden dissolution of all the ties that bind man to man in friendly intercourse. General causes hardly solve the difficulty. We see but the surface of things, and must suppose many inferior agents, and manifold jealousies, interests, and passions operating in retired cabinets of the palace and noble hotels, and in the dens of iniquity in Paris, which lie hidden from the comprehensive glance of history.

The National Convention, in which the revolutionary party had a decided ascendancy, met the 20th of September, 1792, and immediately voted the abolition of royalty, and proclaimed a republic. It was divided into the Girondists, and the party of the Mountain, whose strength lay in the Jacobin club of Paris and the affiliated societies throughout the kingdom, who, by regular communication

with the capital, all acted in one spirit. The fate of Louis was now sealed. While a prisoner in the Temple he and his family were exposed to the brutal manners of his guards and the officers of the convention. In December he was arraigned at the bar, and on him were charged all the fatal occurrences of the revolution. The defense of the king was conducted by Malesherbes, Touchet, and Deseze, and on the 15th of January he was found guilty almost unanimously. An appeal to the people was rejected by a majority, and a vote for death taken. Of seven hundred and twenty-one members, three hundred and sixty-six, including the duke of Orleans, pronounced death; a sentence which was carried into execution in the Place Louis XV., January 21, 1793.

"At the moment when the axe of the guillotine was ready to strike, the abbe Edgeworth, his confessor, addressed him in these sublime words:—'Son of St. Louis, ascend to heaven!'—The whole inhabitants of Paris, who viewed this foul deed with horror, were under arms. A mournful silence reigned in the city."—Chap. vi.

The emperor, Francis II., and the king of Prussia, were already in arms. The principles of the revolution were undermining the loyalty of subjects in the states adjacent to France, and the declaration of the convention of the 19th of November, 1792, that it would "grant fraternity and assistance to all people who wish to recover their liberty," was just cause of alarm to the governments of Europe. The sufferings of Louis, ending in his trial, sentence, and death, formed "tidings to wash the eyes of kings." Mingled grief and indignation filled the courts of Europe. M. Chauvelin received notice to quit the British dominions in eight days, and upon this dismissal of their agent, and other causes of dissatisfaction, was founded the declaration of war by the convention of the 3d of February, 1793.

Never did the evil instincts of humanity, freed from all the restraints of religion, morality, law, and order, display themselves in more terrific forms than during the remaining days of the convention. The leaders of the factions played a desperate game for power, and the stake was life. The month of March beheld the establishment of those instruments of murder and tyranny, the *revolutionary tribunal* and the *committee of public safety*.—Treachery wrought with treachery in the hall of the convention, and the bloodhounds without waited but the cry of havoc from their masters. The Girondists were soon struck down by their fiercer rivals, backed by the pikes of the Fauxbourgs. Many of the most distinguished of the party, as Vergniaud, Lanjuinais, Brissot, &c., nearly thirty in number, whose arrest had been demanded on

the 31st of May, were, in October, sentenced to death by the revolutionary tribunal. They marched together to the scaffold, singing a revolutionary song; their last exclamation was, *Vive la republique!* The revolutionary fervor did not spare the female sex. Madame Roland suffered with the courage of a Spartan matron. After her death, her husband was found dead on the road between Paris and Rouen, where he had stabbed himself, that not even his dead body might bring down danger on any asylum. Marie Antoinette, Louis's queen, perished by the guillotine on the 16th of October, three days before the execution of the Girondists, who, through treachery or weakness, had brought her husband to the scaffold. After the downfall of the Girondists, the convention adopted a constitution of the most democratic form, yet suspended its operation till the independence of the republic should be acknowledged, and intrusted the committee of public safety, in the meanwhile, with the most despotic powers. While anarchy prevailed throughout the kingdom, Paris was the seat of frenzied criminality, which trampled on humanity, and defied high Heaven. The Christian faith was abjured, the churches were desecrated by impieties, and the goddess of reason, in the person of a vile opera dancer, installed in the cathedral of Notre Dame, received the adoration of the high authorities of the nation and of a base populace. Even the tombs were not safe from violation; the sepulchres of the kings of France at St. Denis, and of the renowned dead, were broken open and profaned, and all their venerable monuments defaced. This mad example of demoniac rage against the past was followed throughout the kingdom. The fiercest actors in all the bloody scenes of the revolution yet remained for the mutual destruction of each other; they were divided into three parties. Robespierre at the head of the committee of public safety, and supported by the Jacobins, ruled with absolute power; the brutal municipality of Paris, under Hebert and Chaumette, the authors of the impieties which defied the Most High; and Danton, Camille Desmoulins, and their friends, who began to express their abhorrence of further atrocities. The chiefs of the latter factions, in the months of March and April, 1794, became the victims of the superior craft of Robespierre. With the fall of the Girondists commenced the reign of terror, when France felt the stern and bloody rule of Robespierre, which combined the terrors of the most searching inquisition with a despotism more ruthless than ever desolated the plains of Asia. Every life in France lay at the mercy of the secret enemy or insidious informer. In Paris half a hundred heads fell every day under the axe of the guillotine,



and the prisons of the capital and of the provincial towns were crowded with tens of thousands of victims, objects of the hate or fear of the tyrant. Self-protection called upon many a member of the convention for his destruction, and on the 27th of July, (9th Thermidor,) 1794, he was denounced in that assembly, by Tallien, as the contriver of a plot for the general massacre of his opponents. Tumult and revolt raged among the adherents of the parties in the streets of Paris. Robespierre and his confederates in crime were at length secured, and on the 29th of July were guillotined in the Place de la Revolution, formerly of Louis XV., where Louis XVI. and his queen before suffered. More than ordinary horrors attended the deaths of Robespierre and Couthon, when, with disfigured and mangled persons, they were loaded with the execrations and imprecations of the surrounding multitudes, who exulted in their death.

"The district immortalized by the name of La Vendée" is pre-eminently the redeeming spot amidst the moral desolation of France. It is a relief to the spirit to quit the picture of crimes and of the treacheries and bloody contention of rival factions for the sight of human virtue, even in adversity and the extremes of suffering. Mr. Alison's chapters on La Vendée have the interest of romance. The character of the simple inhabitants of this sequestered and rural district set them apart from the rest of the nation. Their country seemed destined for the abode of innocence and peace; no cries of liberty and equality assaulted the chateaux, or sacred structures, but the gentle ties of kindness, fidelity, and reverence bound together seignior and peasant, people and priest. They were a hardy as well as an innocent and pious race. Their feelings were first excited by the severe decree against their ancient pastors, who, on refusal of the constitutional oath, were expelled from their parishes, while strangers and intruders more compliant filled their places. This outrage upon their religious habits was followed by the enforcement of a levy of men ordered by the convention in July, 1793, when resistance broke out in all quarters, and arms were assumed in the royal cause. The first period of the Vendean war was prolonged more than a year, by the unflinching valor and loyalty, joined with devotion to their religion, against some of the best-appointed armies and bravest generals of the republic. The Vendéans were distinguished no less for their courage and daring in battle, than after victory for their humanity toward their enemies and prisoners, and their thanksgivings to Heaven. While the names of De Lescure, La Rochejacquelin, d'Elbée, Cathelineau, and their companions in arms, live in the memory of

La Vendée, the descendants of the brave men with whom they bled will hold an inheritance above all price.

There was a great reaction in the public mind after the 9th of Thermidor: milder measures were adopted by the convention; the revolutionary tribunal was abolished; the captives of the reign of terror were liberated; numbers of emigrants, and of the clergy, returned to their native country; and the hopes of the royalists began to revive. The insurrectionary spirit, however, was far from subsiding. In October, 1795, the prevailing party in the convention framed a new constitution, resting the executive power in a Directory of five persons, to be nominated and approved by the two councils, the *five hundred*, and the ancients, who composed the legislative body. The right of suffrage was narrowed, and the power of the members of the present convention was secured by allotting to them two-thirds of the seats in the new councils. This last provision was highly displeasing to the Thermidorians, the royalists, and the sections of Paris; and notwithstanding the acceptance of the constitution by the armies and a majority of the departments, they organized an insurrection in order to awe or overpower the convention. They mustered an armed force of thirty thousand men. After the failure of General Menou to disperse them, the business was intrusted to Barras, who desired the assistance of a young artillery officer who had distinguished himself at the siege of Toulon, and in the maritime Alps. This was Napoleon Bonaparte. His force consisted but of six thousand men, and he immediately had a strong train of artillery brought up from the plain of Sablons, by Murat, then a lieutenant. Repeated discharges of grape-shot finally gave him a victory over the troops of the sections, who were destitute of cannon. This event signals the 13th of Vendemiaire, (the 5th of October,) 1795, in the revolutionary calendar, being the last day of the insurrection of the people, and the first of military despotism. The convention closed on the 26th of October, 1795, having held power more than three years, since the 21st of September, 1791. The historian says,—

“All the parties which divided France then endeavored to establish their power, and all perished in the attempt. The Girondists attempted it, and perished; the Mountain attempted it, and perished; Robespierre attempted it, and perished; the royalists attempted it, and perished.”—Chap. xix.

This instability of power, in a revolution like that of France, and its rapid transmission from hand to hand, with a continual declension of character in those who obtained it, are again and again accounted for by Mr. Alison, as the results of a combination of

causes. The principal is, the utter unfitness of the masses of a people like the French at the commencement of the revolution for the exercise of the rights of freemen, in the choice of magistrates and legislators, or for the discharge of those important functions. And among such a people, invested all at once with the rights of unqualified suffrage, no slight cause exists in the inevitable tendency, from bad to worse in the character of the ruling faction, so shortly expressed by Danton, when he entered the solitary cell, which he was to quit only for the guillotine, "Enfin, Is vois que dans les revolutions, l'aulorité toujours reste aux plus scélérats—At last I perceive that in revolutions the supreme power finally rests with the most abandoned."

When the deputies under the new constitution assembled, they chose by ballot two hundred and fifty of their number to form the council of ancients, all married men, and above the age of forty. They then proceeded to the choice of directors, which fell on five of their number, who all had voted for the death of the king. The newly elected third of the councils were of moderate tempers, and represented the sentiments of the people, but were of inconsiderable influence compared with the old members. La Fayette was at this time lying in the dungeons of Olmutz, and most of the prime movers of the revolution had perished by the work of their own hands. Their fate excites but little natural sympathy. In his estimate of their character, the historian exercises a candor beyond their deserts. His admiration of the determined will, and eloquent tongue, which give their possessor the command over his fellows, sometimes dazzles his sounder judgment. He admits, however, no compromise of principle; he calls a muster of a wicked faction, and passes a sweeping sentence of condemnation, but let him poll them, and their chiefs, the most culpable should be allowed to have the benefit of clergy. Such a one was Mirabeau, who owed not his death to the revolutionary tribunal or the guillotine, but died at an early day, (April 2, 1791,) a victim to his passions and excesses. For a time previous to his death he was disposed to retrace his steps, and exert his abilities for the protection of royalty against revolutionary excesses; but what worthy motive can be ascribed to him, when he was then the well-paid instrument of the court? His great talents, bold eloquence, and the control they gave him over the minds of men, have gained him a memorable name. Carlyle has assigned him a niche in his hero-temple, and a poet has chaunted his dirge; but closer observers of his own day considered him overrated, both for talents and for nobleness of purpose. In Mirabeau, no doubt, some generous impulses and



chivalric principle survived a long career of audacity and licence, but he is not one to be held up in any manner as an object of unmixed admiration. His behavior in his last hours and dying pangs, calling for the odors of flowers and the delights of this life, shows but the desperate wickedness of a hardened heart. Of such quality, too, was the entreaty of his compeer, the duke of Orleans, (would that his name were blotted from French memory,) who died by the guillotine in 1793, for a reprieve of twenty-four hours, that he might not take leave of a life of crime without one last indulgence in a banquet. Fearlessness of death, simply as a termination of this life, becomes a brave man, even the wicked, but no false bravery of the indulgence of a pampered appetite. Nor have these got-up deaths the grace of novelty; men less wicked, but as reckless, drank the hemlock at Athens; such were even of old time, and the wisest of men has drawn their features, "who said, reasoning within themselves, but not aright, Our life is short and tedious, and in the death of a man there is no remedy." "Our body shall turn into ashes, and our spirit shall vanish as the soft air." "Come on, therefore, let us enjoy the good things that are present; and let us speedily use the creatures like as in youth. Let us fill ourselves with costly wine and ointments; and let no flower of the spring pass by us. Let us crown ourselves with rose-buds before they be withered. Let none of us go without his part of our voluptuousness." And for that the voluptuous are unjust and cruel:—"Let our strength be the law of justice: for that which is feeble is found to be nothing worth. Therefore let us lay in wait for the righteous: because he is not for our turn, and he is clean contrary to our doings."

The Directory, when they entered on their office in October, 1795, found many of the enemies, who had combined against the early days of the revolution, discomfited and withdrawn from the field. The representations of the Conte d'Artois, of Louis himself, and of his queen, at a very early day excited the sympathies of the courts of Europe for the unhappy condition of the royal family; these, united with a regard to their own security against the aggressive temper of France, led to the adoption of measures which terminated in a general combination against the revolutionary government. The first step was the treaty signed at Mantua, May, 1791, between the emperor and the kings of Sardinia and Spain, which contemplated giving aid to the royalists of France; a second treaty was made at Vienna, July, 1791, between the emperor and king of Prussia, for the adoption of measures necessary to settle the affairs of that kingdom—to this the empress Catharine, Great

Britain, and the states of Holland were invited to accede. This was followed by the treaty of Pilnitz, August, 1791, on the representation by Louis himself of the constraint imposed upon him, by which the emperor and king of Prussia declared their intention to employ their forces to place Louis at liberty to form a limited monarchy, conformable to the common interest of France and of the adjoining states. Secret articles were alledged by the republican party to have been contained in this treaty. Russia and Sweden expressed their good disposition in the common cause. Louis was entreated by his brothers, who relied on foreign aid, not to accept the constitution. On his acceptance of it, the emperor declined any further co-operation in the internal affairs of France; but there still remained unadjusted the claims of some prelates and princes of Germany for the infringement of their rights in Alsace and Lorraine, by the decrees of the assembly. It was upon the question of these claims, and upon the countenance afforded to the emigrants in the states of Germany, that a declaration of war was, as has been already mentioned, obtained from Louis on the 20th of April, 1792. It was in contemplation of hostilities with France that Leopold concluded, in the preceding February, an alliance, defensive and offensive, with Gustavus II. of Sweden. On the 1st of March the emperor Leopold died, leaving his son, Francis II., his successor. In September, 1792, the assembly declared war against the king of Sardinia. On the 19th of November they proclaimed their famous decree of aid to all subjects disposed to revolt against their sovereigns. The navigation of the Scheldt was opened by their general before Antwerp, against the established rights of Holland. War was declared against Great Britain on the 3d of February, 1793.

On the 25th of July the king of Prussia joined the allied armies of Austria and Prussia, and the same day the duke of Brunswick issued his famous proclamation, which roused the indignation of the French people. The allied army then advanced into the French territory. Before the end of the campaign of 1795, several of the enemies of France were induced or compelled to make peace; Prussia in January, 1795, from a wish to direct her forces to other projects; Spain, by defeats, in July of the same year; Amsterdam was revolutionized in January, 1795; and an alliance, defensive and offensive, afterward made between the states and France; while the king of Sardinia was stripped of much of his Italian territories. Austria and Great Britain alone stood out. A fresh treaty was made by these powers on the 4th of May, 1795. In the preceding February an alliance, offensive and defensive, had

been concluded between Great Britain, Austria, and Russia, but there was no accession of force derived from the latter power except a reinforcement of twelve ships of the line, and some frigates to Admiral Duncan in the North Seas. Says Mr. Alison, when he arrives at the establishment of the Directory,—

“The different eras of the revolution, which have hitherto been traced, show the progress of the principles of democracy through their natural stages of public tranquillity, moneyed insecurity, financial embarrassment, arbitrary confiscation, general distress, plebeian insurrection, sanguinary oppression, civil warfare, and military despotism.”  
—Chap. xxiv.

The first Directory consisted of Lareveilliere-Lepaux, Rewbel, Barras, Le Tourneur, and Carnot, who replaced Sieyes. After so long a period of disorder, a season of repose might have been expected under the new government; but further time was to pass before the turbulent elements of faction could be stilled in the calm of despotism. The conspiracy of Babœuf and the terrorists, in the summer of 1796, which extended to the camp at Grenelle, was extinguished by the execution of Babœuf, and the death or transportation of others. The new members of the councils, being one-third, returned in the elections of May, 1797, were royalists, and there was no longer harmony with the Directory. Barthelemi was chosen director in place of Letourneur, whose lot it was to retire, Pichegru was chosen president of the five hundred, and Barbe Marbois of the council of ancients. In the struggle of the 18th Fructidor, (September 4, 1797,) Rewbel, Lepaux, and Barras, the majority of the Directory, supported by a minority in the councils, and the troops put under the command of Augereau, sent from Italy by Bonaparte for that purpose, prevailed over their opponents. This triumph secured the ascendancy of the Jacobin party in the government. Sixteen of the opposite party, among whom were Barthelemi, Pichegru, and Barbe Marbois, were, by a decree of their enemies in the councils, transported to Guiana; others were expelled from the councils. The severe decrees against the recusant priests, who had returned in great numbers, were revived, and many were transported to the same unhealthy shores. The liberty of the press was abolished, and so continued until the restoration in 1814.

The noisy tongue and popular turbulence were now supplanted by the power of the sword and obedience, and France seemed fit to take a place among the nations of Europe. The promise which the establishment of the government of the Directory and the councils, in October, 1795, so much more stable in its forms than any



that had gone before, at first held out to the nations, that the relations of peace and amity might be maintained with it, proved altogether fallacious. Excepting the short suspension of arms after the peace of Amiens, never was Europe the seat of wars more desolating, or of more fearful consequences. The great instrument under Providence in this shaking of the nations was the extraordinary man who commanded the troops of the convention against the armed sections of Paris on the 13th Vendemiaire, (5th of October,) 1795. "It is a wonderful thing, sir," wrote Gouverneur Morris from Paris, to General Washington, on the 10th of April, 1794, "that four years of convulsion, among four and twenty millions of people, have brought forth no one either in civil or military life whose head would fit the cap which fortune has woven." Mr. Morris was almost a constant resident in Paris for more than five years, commencing some months before the meeting of the States-General in May, 1789. The high reputation he had gained in the councils of his own country secured him a favorable introduction among the conspicuous actors in the successive scenes of the revolution, and his keen and intuitive sagacity made him accurate in his estimates of character, and enabled him to perceive the shadows cast by coming events. He never mistook M. Neckar for a great minister and able financier; nor did he behold in La Fayette, at the head of the National Guards, the future Washington of France; and Mirabeau he rated rather by the depravity of his public course than by the vigor of his mind or power of his eloquence. Robespierre, then in the height of his power, he regarded as the most consistent of the revolutionists, but did not venture to predict his course or anticipate his bloody end. The day, however, was at hand which would point out and elevate the man destined to wear the cap woven by fortune. It was but for a time he wore it, and disdaining the diadem which had fallen from the head of Louis into the dust and blood of the revolution, he reached out his hand to lay hold on the imperial crown. This man was Napoleon Bonaparte, who was appointed by the Directory to the command of the French army in Italy. His campaigns of 1796 and 1797 were one blaze of victory, while the arts and delights of peace were not wanting to smooth "the wrinkled front of grim-visaged war." Grace and beauty, wit and valor, held a brilliant court around Josephine, the wife of the young general, at Milan, and offered every delight that could gratify a gallant soldier after the fatigues and perils of war. On his return to Paris, the hero of Italy had a splendid reception from the Directory in the court of the Luxembourg, and laid at their feet the treaty of Campo Formio, ratified by

the emperor. On this occasion a magnificent standard was presented by the Directory to the army of Italy, inscribed with the names of their fields of victory, of the states and cities to which they had given freedom, with an enumeration of the trophies won from the enemy. Talleyrand, the ex-bishop of Autun, was the orator of the day, and exquisitely played his part in that splendid scene of the great national drama, and, in covert phrase, indicated its grand finale. This day seemed sufficient to satisfy the love of glory in the breast of his country's champion; but neither the brilliant court of Milan, nor the grand spectacle of the passing hour in which he was the chief object, had any hold upon the mind of Napoleon: his ambition was not for glory, but for power; its iron sceptre charmed his sight, and he longed to clutch it. His temper did not suffer him to loiter long in France, and when the day of tranquillity began to dawn upon the continental nations, dazzling visions of great exploits invited his steps to Egypt and the East. Nelson's great naval victory of the Nile of the 1st of August, 1798, which his countrymen made a set-off to the French triumphs over their allies on the continent, blasted his magnificent projects, as it left the French army in Egypt cut off from further reinforcements from France. The day-dreams of Napoleon then turned toward Syria, and he delighted his imagination with the thought of rousing the spirit of the subjects of the grand seignior to revolt, and, by their means, realizing schemes of conquest of Oriental splendor. Leaving a sufficient force in Egypt, he entered Syria. Foiled before the walls of St. Jean d'Acre, by the desperate valor of the pacha and the Turkish garrison, and the determined bravery of Sir Sydney Smith, and a body of British seamen and marines, he marched back to Egypt. His return was followed by the almost total destruction of a body of nine thousand Turkish troops, who had landed at Aboukir. He then returned to Alexandria, and on hearing of the disaster which had befallen the republic in Europe, determined to return to France. He visited Cairo, where Klebir was intrusted with the command of the army to be left behind. He took a last look of the Pyramids, which, in the eyes of travelers, to the most distant ages, will seem aggrandized in the greatness of Napoleon's fame. On the 22d of August, 1799, he embarked at Alexandria for Europe, accompanied by Berthier, Lannes, Murat, Marmont, all, afterward, marshals of the empire, and one a king of Naples, and a few other trusty followers. He touched at Ajaccio, in Corsica, and visited, for the first time since his great elevation, the house of his father, and the scenes of his

infancy and boyhood. On the 8th of October he landed in the bay of Frejus, and set off the same day for Paris.

The triumphs of England had hitherto been confined to the ocean. British soldiership and valor had won no laurels in the plains of Flanders or among the dykes of Holland. The first-fruits were to be gathered on the sands of Egypt. The author's breast glows with patriot ardor when he narrates the battle of Alexandria, where his countrymen matched themselves in fair fight against the veterans of Italy. The passage has the characteristic marks of the manner of the historian. The scene before him is united with the past by old recollections and names of ancient renown; and turning his glance upon the future, he brings to view the influence of the passing action on the future passages of the history:—

“England and France were here to contend for the empire of the East in the cradle of ancient civilization, on the spot where Pompey was delivered up to the victorious arms of Cesar, and under the walls of the city which is destined to perpetuate to the latest generation the prophetic wisdom of Alexander. Every object which met the eye was fraught with historic renown. On the right of the French line rose Pompey's pillar; on the left, Cleopatra's needle; in the distance were seen the moldering walls and eastern domes of Alexandria, while on the extreme horizon, stretching into the sea, appeared the far-famed tower of Pharos.”

A description of the battle follows, in which the French lost the character of invincibles. The victory cost the English the life of Sir Ralph Abercrombie, their gallant and veteran commander. This battle, says Mr. Alison, not only delivered Egypt, but decided the fate of the civilized world. The importance of a triumph is not always to be measured by the number of troops engaged. As twenty-four thousand Romans under Cesar, at Pharsalia, changed the face of antiquity; as thirty thousand republicans, at Marengo, seated Napoleon on the consular throne, and established a power which overturned all the monarchies of Europe; so

“the contest of twelve thousand British, with an equal number of French, on the sands of Alexandria, in its remote effects, overthrew an empire greater than that of Charlemagne, and rescued mankind from a more galling tyranny than that of the Roman emperors. It first elevated the hopes and confirmed the resolution of the English soldiers; it first broke the charm by which the continental nations had so long been enthralled; it first revived the military spirit of the English people, and awakened the pleasing hope, that the descendants of the



victors at Cressy and Agincourt had not degenerated from the valor of their fathers. Nothing but the recollection of this decisive trial of strength could have supported the British nation through the arduous conflict which awaited them on the renewal of the war, and induced them to remain firm and unshaken amid the successive prostration of every continental power, till the dawn of hope began over the summit of the Pyrenees, and the eastern sky was reddened by the conflagration of Moscow."—Chap. xxxiv.

While transcribing these passages, we are reminded of the inaccuracies which sometimes escape the pen of Mr. Alison in the heat and rapidity of composition, and likewise remark his disposition to draw too large inferences. As we have always read, Pompey, when seeking an asylum after the battle of Pharsalia, was basely murdered upon the shore of Egypt. The date of Bonaparte's being created first consul was the 13th of December, 1799, and preceded the battle of Marengo, fought the 14th of June, 1800; Nelson's great victory of Aboukir, and that of the army of Abercrombie, cheered the hearts of the British nation, depressed by the accumulated disasters of the allied arms in Europe; Nelson's defeat would have struck deep at the very heart of England's glory; but it is going too far to say, that a field the less would have been won in Spain had French and English never met, or with a different result on the sands of Egypt.

The pre-eminence of Napoleon's genius, and the wonderful ascendancy the whole constitution of his character gave him over all men with whom he ever acted, placed him as first consul at the head of the new government, after the overthrow of the Directory. The histories of France and of her chief are henceforward one; he lived but for her glory and the extension of her power. In the battle of Marengo, June 14, 1800, he called back victory, which had taken flight, to the standards of France. The treaties of Luneville and of Amiens gave a short repose to Europe. Causes of hostility, however, were not laid at rest, and war was declared by Great Britain in May, 1804. The first consul, after being elected for life, became now the emperor Napoleon by a vote as large as that which returned the members of the National Assembly. A coalition was formed, December, 1804, by Austria, Prussia, and Russia. Napoleon inspired his own indomitable spirit into his armies, and at their head, in the successive battles of Austerlitz, December 2, 1805; of Jena, October 14, 1806; of Eylau, February 8, 1807; and of Friedland, June 14, shattered the armies and coalition of emperors and kings. The treaty of Tilsit, between Napoleon and Alexander, of the 7th of July follow-

ing, put an end to hostilities between the great continental powers. In this dark hour,—

“When Austria bent, and Prussia broke,  
And Europe crouch'd to Francis' yoke;  
And the bold Russian's purpose brave  
Was barter'd by a tim'rous slave,”—

England stood erect and alone.

The author throws a splendor around his descriptions of battles. He must surely agree in sentiment with M. De Tocqueville, who says, “I speak no ill of war; war almost always enlarges the mind of a people, and raises its character.” Not only has Mr. Alison studied the details of campaigns given by military men, but he has made himself acquainted with localities, and kindled a martial ardor in his own breast, by visits to the most celebrated of Napoleon's fields, in the passes and plains of Italy, in Germany and France, down to the Belgic field of Waterloo, where fortune at last deserted the hero of a hundred battles. His descriptions should, therefore, be accurate—they certainly are stirring and full of life. Nor is he less successful in showing war stripped of its glorious pomp and circumstance. In his account of the battle of Eylau, where Napoleon and Davoust encountered the Russian and Prussian armies under Benningsen, he gives the following picture of the field after a day of carnage, and brings home to the heart of the man of peace the amount of human suffering by which military renown is won:—

“Never was spectacle so dreadful as the field of battle presented on the following morning. Above fifty thousand men lay in the space of two leagues, weltering in blood. The wounds were, for the most part, of the severest kind, from the extraordinary quantity of cannon balls which had been discharged during the action, and the close proximity of the contending masses to the deadly batteries which spread grape or half-musket shot through their ranks. Though stretched on the cold snow, and exposed to the severity of an Arctic winter, they were burning with thirst, and piteous cries were heard on all sides for water, or assistance to extricate the wounded men from beneath the heaps of slain, or load of horses, by which they were crushed; six thousand of these noble animals encumbered the field, or, maddened with pain, were shrieking aloud amidst the stifled groans of the wounded. Subdued by loss of blood, tamed by cold, exhausted by hunger, the foemen lay side by side amid the general wreck. The Cossack was to be seen beside the Italian; the gay vine-dresser, from the smiling banks of the Garonne, lay athwart the stern peasant from the plains of the Ukraine. The intensity of suffering had extinguished alike the fiercest and the most generous passions. After his usual custom, Napoleon, in the afternoon, rode through this dreadful field,

accompanied by his generals and staff, while the still burning piles of Serpallen and Sansgarten sent volumes of black smoke over the scene of death: but the men exhibited none of their wonted enthusiasm: no cries of *Vive l'Empereur* were heard, the bloody surface echoed only with the cries of suffering, or the groans of wo."

It would be in vain to attempt an estimate of the affliction the slaughter of this day brought upon parents, wives, children, and friends. But let us take a single case, where the deadly ball has struck a high mark, one whom Napoleon loved and called his friend, and contemplate the mighty conqueror touched with a soldier's grief, which makes him more interesting than does even the greatest of his triumphs. After the battle of Bantzen in 1813, when the French were following up the retreating Russian army, they being held in check by Miliradovich, a ball struck down one of Napoleon's escort; he turned to Duroc, saying, "Duroc, fortune seems resolved to have one of us to-day." One of the suite observed in an undertone, "It is the anniversary of Lanne's death at Esling." Napoleon galloped up to another point of attack, followed by his suite, through a narrow way, and enveloped in a cloud of dust. At this moment Kirchener, general of engineers, was killed on the spot, and Duroc mortally wounded. As soon as the intelligence reached the emperor, he instantly dismounted, gazing upon the battery whence the shot had been discharged, and entered the hut where the dying marshal had been carried. "Duroc," said he, pressing his hand, "there is another world where we shall meet again." "Memorable words!" says the historian, (would that he had spared, or changed the closing words,) "wrung by anguish from the child of infidelity and the revolution." When, a few hours afterward, Napoleon was informed all was over, without uttering a word, he put into the hands of Berthier a paper, ordering the erection of a monument on the spot where Duroc fell—to be inscribed with his name and title, and the manner of his death, and that "he died in the arms of the emperor his friend."

"Napoleon pitched his tent near the cottage where Duroc lay, and seemed for a time altogether overwhelmed by his emotions. The squares of the old guard, respecting his feelings, arranged themselves at a distance, and even his most confidential attendants did not for some time venture to approach his person. Alone he sat, wrapped in his gray great coat, with his forehead resting on his hands, and his elbows on his knees, a prey to the most agonizing reflections. In vain Caulaincoart and Murat at length requested his attention to the most pressing orders. 'To-morrow, every thing,' was the only reply of the emperor, as he again resumed his attitude of meditation."



After the treaty of Tilsit opposition to Napoleon on the continent was at an end; the very mind of Europe bowed down before the genius of the conqueror. The lust of power and hate of England, as the great obstacle to his ambition, led to his final overthrow. The first induced him to outrage the dearest rights of the royal family and people of Spain, and place his brother Joseph on the vacated throne. The last produced those violent measures against the trade of England, which could not be carried out without gross invasions of the rights of independent states. The spirit of resistance first roused itself in the Spanish peninsula, where the high talents of the duke of Wellington, then Sir Arthur Wellesley, which had been exercised and invigorated in the vast schemes and wide fields of the wars and politics of India, rescued Spain from the grasp of Napoleon, and roused the spirit of the nations to a last and successful opposition to the arms of France. To follow up further the operation of these two ruling passions in the breast of Napoleon, the invasion of Spain brought the duke of Wellington from the heights of Las Torres Vedras to the capital of France, and the rigor with which the emperor of the French strove to enforce his continental system, delivered over the grandest army which Europe ever saw to the killing snows and frosts of Russia, and in the end made the fair city of Paris the military headquarters of the victorious sovereigns and great captains, who, from the banks of the Volga, the Vistula, and the Danube, and from the golden Tagus, had fought their way through the armies of France to the borders of the Seine. The Bourbons were restored to the throne of France; Napoleon was relegated to the isle of Elba. From the sovereignty of his little island he was again raised by a wonderful Providence to the imperial throne, only to be more signally cast down. The once emperor of the French and master of Europe died the exile of St. Helena, a possession of the only enemy who had never quailed before his glance, and the prisoner of monarchs, more than one of whom owed their crowns to his forbearance in the day of his might.

The interests of these United States, although they were not ostensibly, yet were they deeply concerned in this portion of European history. The earlier portion of his subject, indeed, has caused the author to advert repeatedly to the American revolution, and to remark upon the operation of our republican institutions. Franklin he names with praise, and the following is his tribute to the name of Washington:—

“Modern history has not so spotless a character to commemorate. Invincible in resolution, firm in conduct, incorruptible in integrity, he

brought to the helm of a victorious republic the simplicity and innocence of moral life; he was forced into greatness by circumstances, rather than led into it by inclination, and prevailed over his enemies rather by the wisdom of his designs, and the perseverance of his character, than any extraordinary genius for the art of war. A soldier from necessity and patriotism rather than disposition, he was the first to recommend a return to pacific councils when the independence of his country was secured, and bequeathed to his countrymen an address on leaving their government, to which there is no composition of uninspired wisdom which can bear a comparison. He was modest, without diffidence; sensible to the voice of fame without vanity; independent and dignified without either asperity or pride."—Chap. xxi.

These volumes comprise a body of instruction, the result of researches which few in this country could make for themselves. They combine with more than ordinary felicity the general instruction of history with the particular interest of biography. The vivid descriptions of the author encircle the reader with a panorama of countries dotted with fields of glory, where the eye glances from the far-off plains of Bengal to the shores of Syria and the rock of Gibraltar, and from the sands of Egypt to the snow-clad plains of Russia. In biography, this work is a gallery of portraits of princes, of statesmen, and of great captains—"quorum nomina tantum instar triumphi." Full of his subject, whenever high principle or noble passion is concerned, the narrative becomes impassioned, and the reader is borne onward as by the long swell of the ocean wave. Mr. Alison's philosophy is of higher origin than that which gave tone to the great histories of the last century, of Hume and of Gibbon, or even of Robertson. He unrolls a moral code to the family of nations, and with line upon line, and precept upon precept, he enforces the doctrine of retributive justice. His attachment to conservative principles as held in his own land, and his political predilections, almost disqualify him for a fair estimate of the operation of principles differing from his own, in countries where they have been long working under institutions unlike those under which he lives. Hence many reasoners on this side of the Atlantic will be disposed to controvert some of the conclusions he draws from the operation of our republican institutions. Some inaccuracies of substance, as well as of expression, have escaped from the pen of the author, which his revision for a new edition will probably correct.

The Messrs. Harper are issuing an edition of this great work in numbers, in very good taste, and so low as to accommodate all.

*New-York, March, 1843.*

ART. III.—*Fifth Article* of the Methodist Quarterly Review for July, 1842.

WE do not notice the paper referred to in the above heading, for the purpose of protracting a controversy on what some may perhaps consider a mere speculative point of theology. Our object is rather to throw some light on a subject with which we are not alone in believing the best interests of the Christian world are connected, and incidentally to disabuse the public mind in regard to the real character of the *theory of temptation*, which has by a single writer been made a subject of so severe animadversion.\*

And who is the propounder of this *theory of temptation*? that we may know whether there were any special reasons for its being received with suspicion. He is "one," says the reviewer of that theory, "holding a responsible trust in the church;" and we may add, without offense, one who held responsible trusts in the church, even before the reviewer took his first lessons in Methodist theology; and still further, one who has never stood otherwise than high in the confidence of the church. And yet the charge of heresy is very fully and explicitly preferred against the theory, while it is construed as denying most of the peculiar fundamental doctrines of our church—doctrines, too, so familiar as to be "scattered through the writings of Wesley from the beginning to the end," to constitute "the common phraseology of all our standard writers," and to have become "the familiar dialect" of the best members of the church. But charges of heresy are not *proofs*, any more than the charges of sophistry and "contradiction," so freely brought against our former article, are *arguments*. For this reason alone shall we pass them by; and without even an allusion, at this point, to the *manner* of the reviewer, shall come at once to the *matter* of his article. In the execution of our plan, we shall explain wherein we consider the theory to be misstated by the reviewer—shall endeavor to find the precise point in controversy—and shall then bring his system with

\* Those who wish to become acquainted with the subject discussed in this paper are referred to the October number of this work for 1841, for the original theory; and also to the next number, of January, 1842, for a partial exposition of it, and a defense of its principles against some strictures which, soon after its publication, appeared in *Zion's Herald*. The delay which has occurred in the publication of this article, as well as the brief space assigned to the further discussion of the subject on our part, renders such a reference necessary.



our own to the test of our standard writers, for whose able expositions of sacred truth he can entertain no more profound respect than we do.

I. We will introduce this part of our discussion by remarking, that the theory is very correctly charged with asserting that excitement is essential to temptation. This is the language in which the doctrine is there set forth:—

“Temptation is a sensible impulse or solicitation to do some evil act. Each internal power in our constitution has its corresponding external object which God has appointed as its natural excitant, and which has power to excite it *independent of our will*. The excitable functions, or powers in our constitution, may be divided into two classes: the appetites, which have their origin in the flesh; and the passions, which originate in the mind itself. These appetites and passions, which are essential parts of every sound and healthy person, are, in themselves, *simply considered as powers existing*, neither vicious nor virtuous. When, under proper conditions, the external exciting object is presented, its corresponding appetite or passion is *necessarily excited*, and *tends* to seek gratification; and this involuntary and necessary excitement, when it tends to unlawful or excessive gratification, is called lust,\* and properly constitutes temptation.”

In our exposition, this general doctrine is stated with equal distinctness—reference being had, of course, to the kind of temptation mentioned in the theory.

We shall now proceed to point out in what respects we consider the theory to be misstated by the reviewer.

*First.* An elaborate argument is introduced, to show that the theory teaches that this excitement, which is essential to temptation, extends, or may extend, to “the *whole* class of sensibilities, (that is, emotions and desires,) the instincts, appetites, propensities, and affections.”—With how little logical fairness this is done, the reader can judge after a very simple statement. The propounder of the theory, following the example of many ethical writers, for the sake of brevity, comprehends the sensibilities, as we have seen, under “two classes: the *appetites*, which have their origin in the flesh; and the *passions*, which originate in the mind itself;”

\* We do not much admire the principle which could have led the reviewer of this theory, in commenting on this word as here used, to give preference to the definition of Webster over that of St. James, which is most obviously the sense of the theory. Nor do we any more admire the want of care which allowed him to select from the definitions of Webster the very *strongest* sense in which the word is ever used, when the lexicographer himself just below cites the passage from St. James as an example of its use in a *milder* sense.

and he nowhere gives any other classification of them. Notwithstanding these terms are thus defined and used in the theory, the reviewer, as we conceive in opposition to all the principles of fair argumentation, attempts to force upon them another meaning, by introducing other definitions from foreign sources. The propounder of the theory doubtless had a right to define his own terms; and, as here defined, it is perfectly obvious that each appetite and passion must be considered as embracing both the *motive* stage and the *desire*, while the theory contains not one remark which authorizes the conclusion, that the necessary excitement of temptation ever extends beyond the former. It makes no suggestion on that subject. In this respect, then, the theory is misstated.

*Secondly.* The theory is charged with allowing the necessary excitement of temptation not only to attack "the whole class of sensibilities," but to rage among them without control.—The reviewer has not formally stated his charges, nor always clearly distinguished them from each other. This charge is closely connected with the former; and after an effort to substantiate that, by substituting the definitions of Lord Kames and others for those of the theory, he over and over again repeats the present charge, and at one time briefly sums it up thus:—"The first article allows *any* excitement short of the will—that there '*is no sin but in consent.*'"

"Consent" to what? we ask. Why need the reviewer, as he has done in more instances than one, give us partial quotations, if truth is his object? These half sentences, in this case, seem to teach, that the excitement of temptation, however characterized, is all independent of the will; and that *there is no sin*, unless we consent—to the evil to which we are tempted. But what is indeed the language of the theory on this subject?—

"The final and unerring test of sin, is, not the existence of the temptation, but the consent of the will. Whenever this consent is given *in any degree*, then sin commences; and the extent of the consent is the measure of the degree of sin. When we feel the temptation, if we consent *to prolong the excitement*, or *if it be in our power to allay it*, or *to escape from it*, and we refuse to do it, then we begin to sin."

It appears, then, distinctly, from the theory itself, that some of the forms of excitement which precede the final action of the will in regard to the tempting object, are *voluntary*; and are therefore not included in the "excitement essential to temptation," or which can exist "without sin." We cannot avoid the conclusion, that the theory is in this respect most grossly misrepresented; and

misconstruction here seems the less excusable, that the reviewer has himself used the term "consent" in regard to one of the preliminary stages of temptation. Of the first transgression he says, the woman "consented to hear the seducer, and fell." And here he has not only used this word in the same general manner as the theory, but also applies it in the same way, making the consent of the will essential to the transgression.

In regard to both these last charges, the theory prescribes no other limit, either as to the sensibilities which may be reached by the excitement essential to constitute temptation, or as to the *extent* of such excitement, than that it is "involuntary and necessary." In our exposition of the theory, however, we attempted what that did not attempt—to *fix the limits* of the excitement which could properly be thus designated. This the reviewer seems not to have perceived; and thus appears utterly unable to reconcile the two articles. In perfect harmony, as we suppose, with the principles of the theory, we alledged that "temptation can never become properly such, only so far as it *excites*, or *tends to excite* the *DESIRES*;" but, at the same time, we affirmed, that in cases where the temptation is successfully repelled, as, for example, by the perfect Christian, the desire does not become fully formed; or, in other words, only the incipient or nascent desire is felt—such as is produced by the action of the emotions, in their spontaneous effort to create it. This sentiment was thus expressed:—"The peculiar character of the temptations of the sanctified person, is then doubtless this: that while they *tend*, in common with the temptations of feebler Christians and of all other men, *to the excitement of the desires*, he does not allow them to take hold on these desires. He has attained the power of constantly arresting them *at this point*, and of successfully repelling them." "At this point," meaning, as had been just before explained, *at the point* where the incipient desire comes in conflict with the feelings of obligation. This, then, is the point, at which, according to the exposition of the theory, the excitement of temptation becomes a subject of voluntary control. As, however, the reviewer has been able to perceive in our treatment of this part of the subject only "contradictions," and several instances of "abandonment of the ground of our argument," we shall refer to the matter again; though to us it seems, that these forms of expression must be sufficiently intelligible to any man free from the peculiar modes of thinking arising from the study of a favorite author.

*Thirdly.* It is alledged, that this theory denies the doctrine of natural depravity.—This charge seems to be based on the following



propositions of the theory; to wit:—that “the existence of the involuntary and necessary excitement of temptation, and the consciousness of its tendency to seek to be gratified, is not sin, nor of the nature of sin;” and again,—in regard to the “violent excitement,” which has its origin in “Satanic suggestion,” and is accompanied with “reflections and imaginings horrible, offensive, and impure,”—that “unless we consent either to prolong the excitement, or to indulge it, we are ‘without sin.’” These propositions obviously refer to two matters entirely distinct from each other. In the first, it is implied simply, that as *temptation* is not sin, so the “involuntary and necessary excitement” *essential to its existence*, is not sin; and so far as *temptation* is “not of the nature of sin,” just so far is *this kind* of excitement “not of the nature of sin,” but may be felt by any nature, however holy, which is subject to temptation. This excitement, which the theory considers as having its origin in the very nature of the human mind, and as being essential to the moral constitution of man, the reviewer uniformly confounds with the “violent excitement,” subsequently referred to—predicating the same kind of innocence of the one as of the other, making them *equally* “essential to temptation,” and equally independent of natural depravity. For this there is not a shadow of authority in the theory itself. The former was all that had been mentioned, when the theory was applied to explain the temptations of our first parents, and of our Saviour; and when the latter is subsequently introduced, the reader is left to judge for himself whether or not this can ever be felt at all by the sanctified man; and, if so, whether it can ever be in his case “involuntary and necessary.” If it ever is, then, and not otherwise, the theory pronounces it not even “of the nature of sin.” The subjects of depravity or of Christian perfection not being then under discussion, the theory makes no allusion to these questions.

But this charge of denying the doctrine of natural depravity is made in the very face of the theory itself; which so far from denying this doctrine, actually affirms it, though incidentally, more strongly than ought to have been expected in a mere outline of a theory of *temptation*. With this remark, we commend to the reader this striking passage:—“The difference between them [our first parents] and us is, they were *naturally able* to stand against any possible temptation; we are wholly unable by nature, and cannot become able except by grace.” If this does not explicitly *teach* the doctrine of natural depravity, we cannot appreciate the meaning of words.

*Finally.* The reviewer charges the theory with "virtually denying the doctrine of Christian perfection."—This charge rests on misconstructions already noticed, as to the nature and extent of the excitement allowed by the theory as innocent; which the reviewer makes to be "violent excitement of the appetites and passions—accompanied by imaginings, horrible, offensive, impure, and raging thus in the appetites and passions, in the instincts, propensities, and affections, including not only the emotions but desires." Such a representation is too palpably absurd to merit a refutation. And yet the reviewer is careful to inform his readers "that the sense of the author is plain" in the statement of these doctrines—so plain that "no acknowledgment of an irregular or unfortunate use of words by the theory can evade it." He adds,— "Prove that the author does not mean what we attribute to him, and you prove that he means nothing, you set at defiance every principle of interpretation." But though its errors are so "plain" to the far-reaching ken of the reviewer, the theory was doubtless put forth by its propounder "unwittingly, and with the impression that its views were fully Wesleyan;" and was defended by us as at variance with our standards, "unintentionally!"

The reviewer is very kind, to be sure, to charge our errors to our ignorance and stupidity, rather than to any bad "intent;" but a recollection of the maxim of Coleridge—"Until you understand a writer's ignorance, presume yourself ignorant of his understanding," would have served him, both here and elsewhere in his article, a good purpose. An appreciation of his kindness, however, shall not allow us to speak at all in our own defense; but he must excuse us, if, on the part of the propounder of the theory, we enter our solemn protest, in the name of truth, of honesty, and of the principles of honorable controversy, against so forced and unauthorized a construction of the sentiments of any Christian writer; and especially of any one who has never been accused of insidious designs upon the established doctrines or institutions of the church. In making this, our protest, we shall probably be again charged by the reviewer with "standing up for our friend,"\* instead of allowing us the only credit which we claim in these articles, that of writing for the discovery of the truth, and in its support. When the reader shall be induced to believe that we have laid aside the office of an *investigator* for that of an *advocate*, we shall expect him to consider our pages as unworthy of his perusal.

II. We have endeavored to show that the doctrines of the original theory are not what they are set forth to be by the reviewer.

\* Zion's Herald for January 19, 1842.

As a preliminary step in ascertaining the precise ground of controversy, we shall now present to the reader a brief statement of what we deem these doctrines to be. The theory, then, teaches,—

1. That there is excitement of some of the *natural sensibilities* in all cases of proper temptation; and that this excitement constitutes one of the essential elements of such temptation.

2. That temptation consequently implies an impulse *toward* the tempting object.—This is opposed to the sentiment of the reviewer, that the excitement of innocent temptation can only be an “excitement of horror *against* it.” The theory admits this feeling of “horror,” in view of the seducing object, after the *moral feelings* have had time to rally, and the temptation is wholly, or even partially, overcome.

3. That the indulgence to which we are tempted, must be either *unlawful* or *excessive*.—As this proposition is made a subject of frequent remark by the reviewer, we beg the reader to try to fancy to himself a temptation the opposite of this, which should be to indulgence in an object which is *lawful*, and only to an *authorized extent*. We know of no *such* temptation.

4. That *Satanic suggestion* is one of the secondary sources of temptation; and that under its influence the excitement of temptation may become “violent,” may be “prolonged,” and may even be accompanied with “reflections and imaginings, horrible, offensive, and impure.” And,

5. That the excitement of temptation which is “involuntary and necessary,” is not of itself “sin, nor of the nature of sin;” and even if, under the “dreadful power” of Satanic suggestion, “violent excitement” is felt, still, “if we neither consent to prolong the excitement, nor to indulge it, we are ‘without sin.’”

The reviewer might have raised a question as to the *extent* of the excitement allowed by this theory. But he has chosen to deny *ALL excitement of the natural sensibilities* in all innocent temptations; and admits it only in regard to such as are at least “of the nature of sin.” Thus this kind of excitement is denied of all the temptations of our first parents, prior to the fall; of those of our Saviour, and of the sanctified Christian; and of the innocent temptations of the young Christian, and of all other men—innocency being predicated only of the intellectual perception which precedes the emotion to which it naturally gives rise. The leading proposition of this theory is then positively denied; to wit, that excitement of the natural sensibilities—even of the emotions—is an essential element of temptation, (the term temptation being used by both writers in its common acceptance;)



while it is asserted, on the contrary, that this excitement in view of a tempting object always either originates or results in sin.

Though it is on this question mainly that the reviewer has raised an issue with the theory; yet, for the cause of truth, we have chosen to go further, and to show what is the kind and extent of the excitement which the theory recognizes as essential to temptation, and declares innocent. And we have seen, that it was there characterized as "natural;" and from the constitution of the mind in its relation to the external world, as "involuntary and necessary;" and also that it was expressly taught, that all excitement is not of this character. Our exposition of this theory attempts to show what precise forms of excitement are here included; and, as we have already seen, limits them to the emotions and the incipient stage of desire; thus while distinctly asserting the doctrine of the theory, that the involuntary excitement is *innocent*, at the same time fixing the limits of the excitement, which, according to the usage of philosophical writers, can with propriety be called *involuntary*. And it is with reference to such usage, as we propose presently more distinctly to show, that the desires, after having passed their incipient stage, are represented as falling under the control of the will; and thus, when their objects are improper, as *not* being included by the theory among the forms of innocent excitement. For the want of perceiving this distinction drawn by us between the nascent desire, called by Professor Upham its *instinctive* stage, and the subsequent stage designated by him the *voluntary*,\* the whole matter becomes a labyrinth to the reviewer; our "logic and theology" are both at fault, and thus, as usual, he has resolved our whole argument into "contradiction" and nonsense.

Here, however, the reader has the two theories before him; and having them thus, cannot but perceive the eminently practical character of the question we are endeavoring to settle. If the original theory is true, then he who adopts that of the reviewer, on examining his own heart, and feeling occasionally these involuntary and instinctive impulses of his nature, it matters not how rarely, or from what source they arise, or how quickly they are subdued—will often unnecessarily cast away his confidence—his confidence which hath great recompense of reward. And, on the other hand,

\* As the reviewer, in support of his peculiar doctrines, has referred to a paragraph in an anonymous article, which he ascribes to the pen of Professor Upham, the reader is earnestly requested to recur to vol. ii. of his *Mental Philosophy*, where he will find a full and lucid development of this entire subject. See particularly sections 99, 110, 113, 116, 124, 129, 130, 155, 174.

if the system of the reviewer is the true one, he who limits his faith by the standard held up in the former, can never reach the perfection of the Christian character. How great is the responsibility of him who writes on such a subject ! and who, in such a case, but would tremble at the thought of gaining a conquest in argument at the expense of the truth !

That the moral bearings of our theory may be still more distinctly before the mind of the reader, we will, before leaving this part of our subject, make an additional remark. In regard to the temptations of the Christian in general, it may be observed, that religion requires a change of life—a change of habits, both of body and of mind—a change of thoughts and of associations ; a sufficient change, one might think, to occasion a vast diminution in the frequency of his temptations, who prosecutes a religious life, to say nothing of their violence, or of the offensiveness and impurity of their character. Thus indirectly, by avoiding occasions of temptation, by withdrawing attention from them when present, and by fixing the mind on whatever is excellent—all of which our holy Christianity enjoins—even the young Christian may greatly weaken the force of temptation, and may acquire a wonderful victory over the evils of his nature. In this simple statement alone, the reviewer will find an answer to his rhetorical interrogatory : “ How does advancement in grace take away the susceptibility of this excitement ? ” and a solution of the “ contradiction ” charged upon us in the same paragraph. But this is not all that our theory allows. From the very nature of the work of grace wrought in the heart of the sanctified man, as set forth in our former article, he must be free from all wavering of the principle of supreme love to God, which is the very element of the perfection he has attained. Thus, in a moral point of view, is he recovered from his natural depravity, and, of course, is freed from all the temptations which have their origin in this source, and to which even the young Christian may be subject. We do not then say that his temptations are many, nor do we say that they are long continued, or necessarily doubtful in their issue. What we have maintained, and still maintain, is simply this : that when he is tempted, his temptation does not differ in its *nature* as we have defined it, from that of other men, however it may differ in its origin, or in its power of enthralling the will.

And now, that the entire ground of the controversy may be still further placed before the reader, and its limits be properly fixed, we will on this point premise, that we may recognize the existence of all the mental states suggested by those who oppose our theory ;

and yet, if it shall appear either that these are not temptations, or, that being temptations, they are not *all* that the perfect man is subject to, our theory may still be true. For example, we have unhesitatingly allowed the existence of such a state of mind as consists only of a pure intellection, accompanied with an emotion of horror; but in regard to this, as well as other kindred states of mind, we believe that they cannot, without doing violence to the English language, be called *temptations*. Though the English word temptation is ambiguous, we know of no such latitude of definition as will embrace this state of mind. Clarke says, this word "is now generally used to imply a solicitation to evil."\* Wesley says,—“The English word temptation is now usually understood of solicitation to sin.”† So the original theory says,—“Temptation is a sensible impulse or solicitation to do some evil act.” And the reviewer, notwithstanding his objection to this definition, so often insinuated in the course of his article, must admit that our Saviour was subject to *such* temptations, and that they fall also to the lot of good men. We need not discuss the *name* then—here we have the thing. These are the temptations whose nature we are endeavoring to define; and in regard to such as these, lies the issue between the theory and the system of the reviewer.

III. Now that our theory is divested of the rubbish thrown about it by the reviewer, and is distinctly before the reader, with those who admit the *existence* of excitement in temptation, we are willing to leave the question, whether this excitement is not *such* as the theory recognizes, and such as we have defined it. It remains, then, only to place the leading proposition of our theory side by side with the system of the reviewer, and to bring them *together* to the test of our standard doctrines. One or the other must be true. We can see no middle ground. Temptation—such as those to which we have just referred—either involves excitement of some of the natural sensibilities, or it does not; and the good man really possesses the power to prevent such excitement in temptation, or he does not. The result, therefore, must be the same, whether we establish our system by direct proof, or proceed indirectly, and overthrow that which is opposed to it. Either of these, we believe, might be done; but at the same time we believe the strength of our position will be rendered more apparent, if, while we incidentally confirm our former arguments in support of our theory by a reference especially to our standard authors, we

\* Notes on Genesis xxii, 1.

† Sixth Discourse upon the Sermon on the Mount.



present some objections to the system which is arrayed against it. This system differs from ours, both in its leading *doctrine*, and in the *theory* by which this doctrine is supported; and in both these respects, after the most mature examination, we believe it to be at variance as well with our practical as with our speculative theology.

1. We propose further to examine the reviewer's *doctrine* of a mere intellectual temptation, as modified and more specifically set forth by him since our former article on this subject was published. Of this sort of temptation we have already said, that it falls not within any definition of temptation we have ever met with. It consists only of such perceptions, and of such action of the sensibilities as call for no resistance, but may with the most perfect innocence be entertained and cherished. This defect in the doctrinal part of this system we believe will become strongly apparent as we proceed.

The *first* objection we shall here present to this doctrine is, that it is opposed to all our commonly received metaphysical theology. After an attempt sufficiently elaborate (how successful the reader must judge) to show some affinity between the law of mental action adopted by us in our last article and Edwards' philosophical doctrine of necessity, the reviewer volunteers the remark, that "motives are the conditions of volitions." Though we shall not be turned aside to discuss any subject foreign to the one in hand, we are willing to make a momentary use of this allusion to the doctrine of *motives*. Even the metaphysicians whom the reviewer seems most inclined to favor, so far as we can discover, recognize no pure intellections as "motives." On the contrary, Dr. Schmucker traces the motive influence of all entities, or objects, directly to the "feelings" which they excite;\* and this is the common view of philosophical writers. It is recognized by Dr. Fisk throughout his "Calvinistic Controversy," and it most clearly implies that there can be no *motives* which do not reach the sensibilities. Now, then, we ask, What are *temptations*, as defined by our theological writers, but "motives?" "To resist a powerful temptation," says Watson, "is to resist a powerful motive."† Indeed, what kind of a temptation would that be which does not "incite to action?" and whatever does this, is a *motive*. Yet the reviewer gives us a temptation which is a pure intellection. "'When the woman saw'—here is the innocent stage of the temptation;" and from the argument it appears

\* See his Mental Philosophy, pp. 113, 114, 179, 180.

† Institutes, part ii, chap. 28.

that this is all the temptation, or at least the strongest, of which her unfallen nature was susceptible. Again he says,—“The temptation was ‘involuntary,’ the excitement was not; when the woman ‘saw,’ she knew her duty, and could have escaped, but she consented to hear the seducer, and fell.” There was, then, here a “consent” of the will—a *volition*, without any motive, as that term is usually understood—without any thing but a bare intellection as the “condition” of such volition.

Elsewhere the reviewer has admitted in regard to the sanctified Christian, that this intellection may be accompanied with the moral emotion of “horror” and “abhorrence.” If this admission be extended to the original transgression, instead of mending the matter, it but makes it worse; for that which before did not amount to a temptation, now actually becomes a powerful impulse in the contrary direction; for he says explicitly of this excitement, “Instead of its tending to ‘unlawful indulgence,’ &c., it has precisely the opposite tendency.” This temptation, which takes the direction of the *moral sensibilities*, is such, we feel assured, as no metaphysical writer ever yet suggested to the world. Thus the “innocent temptation” of this system, in neither of its phases, presents a philosophical character. This, however, is an age of discovery; and the objection we have presented, we are aware, will have no weight with the reviewer. Why should he not give a *new* metaphysical system to the world, since he feels himself qualified to condemn all others?\*

Our *second* objection to this doctrine of the reviewer is, that it does not furnish a satisfactory explanation of the fall of our first parents, or of the danger of the sanctified Christian. Our first parents actually fell: this is no matter of speculation; and the temptation by which they fell—that which

“Brought death into the world, and all our wo,”

on the system presented—was but a mere intellectual perception, unattended by any natural emotion whatever. It was the *sight of the forbidden tree*, unaccompanied by the perception “that it was good for food,” or “that it was to be desired to make one wise.” These latter perceptions involving *emotion*, are expressly denied of the “innocent stage” of this temptation. Nor is this all. When it is said,—“The woman saw the tree that it was pleasant to the eyes,” this is so explained, that the *seeing of the tree* was innocent, while the accompanying perception, that *it was pleasant to the eyes*, was sinful, and proved that she had already fallen. The

\* See the reviewer's note on page 450.

temptation then by which Eden was lost, commenced and ended with *the sight of the forbidden tree*—all that followed being but the consequence and the evidence of the apostasy. The mere statement of the system, as applicable to the first transgression, we deem a complete refutation of it. Wesley, in his essay on Original Sin, has spoken of the temptation by which our first parents fell, as “strong temptation—how strong we know not.” With how little propriety would he thus have characterized the reviewer’s temptation—*the sight of the tree!*

And this is the kind of temptation, too, by which the perfect man is in danger of falling; for it is conceded, on both hands, that he may “become a castaway.” We inquired in our last, if the sanctified Christian has no conflicts? The reviewer answers, “Yes; abundance of them.” And here, lest we should be thought to misstate his system, we must let him speak for himself. We had objected to the idea, that mere “thoughts,” unaccompanied with the excitement of any natural emotion or desire, could properly be called temptation; and remarked by way of illustration:—“One man tells us, he *was never tempted* to steal; another, that he *was never tempted* to take the name of God in vain; and others, in every stage of Christian experience, that they *have never been tempted* to give up their faith in Christ, or to abandon the hopes of religion; while the very fact of their making the statements shows, that these are even at the time matters of *intellectual perception*; or, in the language of the objector, that they ‘exist in the thoughts,’ and ‘are perceived and thought of.’ When men have no theory to sustain, it is clear they do not call these *temptations*. The element that is wanting is excitement.”\*

The reviewer says, in reply to this,—

“The above ‘thoughts’ may be accidental, momentary, whereas, we admit their suggestion by Satan. He may reiterate them for hours or days to the mind, in defiance of all its resistance, until they become haunting spectres; he may accompany them with heaviness and depression, and even with an agony of excitement—an excitement not ‘tending to’ the evil suggested, as admitted by the theory, but of horror *against* it.”

And in further illustrating the nature of this excitement, produced by the perception of unlawful excitants, he characterizes it at one time as “excitement which would be horror instead of desire—a horror which, for the time, would suppress all desire, even that which is lawful;” and again, as “intense excitement of ab-

\* This passage, as quoted by the reviewer, is singularly inaccurate.



horrence *against* the unlawful indulgence—not an excitement which must be resisted, but *consented* to as altogether holy.”

Here, then, we see what must be the nature of the “conflicts” of the sanctified man. Notwithstanding the admission of excitement on the part of the reviewer, there can be no conflict of *feeling*, since the feeling is all on one side. On the one hand, is the bare “thought,” suggested it may be by Satan, and reiterated by his power; still, according to the reviewer’s system, it is only a “thought,” and a thought with which no natural emotion mingles—a thought, too, it must be recollected, which is *holy*, since “the very thoughts are holy in a perfect Christian.” To us there seems here little cause of “conflict.” But yet we find, on the other hand, a somewhat formidable array—an array of “excitement,” and “intense excitement”—even “an agony of excitement” of “horror and of abhorrence against”—something we scarcely know what. Can the reader tell us what? The reviewer, it is true, tells us it is against “the unlawful object”—“the sin suggested.” But who can see, in the state of mind which has preceded this, any occasion for all this commotion? And then, we are puzzled more than ever, when we learn, as we do from the above quotations, that this excitement, which is “not to be resisted, but consented to as altogether holy,” is produced by the agency of the tempter himself! To us, Satan would thus seem to be divided against himself; and of course the perfect man, in that case, need have but little dread of his power. But perhaps this is one of the reviewer’s “occult positions,” which he thinks “the human mind cannot grasp!”

We forbear all further comment at this point, lest we should fall below the dignity of our subject; and simply remark, that even aside from any “holy horror” against sin, produced in the mind of the good man by Satanic agency, we cannot conceive that his virtue would be in danger of being overcome by any temptations which this system allows. We shall hereafter show, and from our standard theological works, that the Christian is liable to other temptations than these, in every stage of his experience.

Our *third* objection to this doctrine is, that it furnishes no adequate means either of testing the obedience or strengthening the faith of the perfect Christian. We cannot perceive in the temptations recognized by this system any valid test of the Christian’s obedience—especially in view of the strong expression, that “the excitement produced by any unlawful excitant” (which cannot but include all temptations to disobedience) “would be horror instead of desire—a horror which, for the time, would suppress all desire,

even that which is lawful." Not to obey, under such a state of things, would require an effort.

But temptations are not permitted for the simple purpose of testing the Christian character, or of proving the existence of a spirit of obedience; but mainly for purifying and confirming the faith. Wesley says,—

"The first and great end of God's permitting the temptations which bring heaviness on his children, is the trial of their faith, which is tried by these, even as gold by the fire. Now we know, gold tried in the fire is purified thereby; is separated from its dross. And so is faith in the fire of temptation; the more it is tried, the more it is purified; yea, and not only purified, but also strengthened, confirmed, increased abundantly, by so many more proofs of the wisdom and power, the love and faithfulness of God. This, then—to increase our faith—is one gracious end of God's permitting those manifold temptations."\*

Who can see, in the temptations of this system, any "fiery trial," any "purifying" influence like that here referred to? In direct opposition, as we conceive, to this system, our Saviour teaches us, that the Christian is to be tempted to the full extent of his ability to resist. He pledges himself only, "that he will not suffer us to be tempted *beyond* what we are able to bear."† Besides this, we are taught in Scripture to pray and to watch only that we be not *led*, or that we do not *fall*, into temptation. Nor does the meaning of these expressions seem to be doubtful. "*Entering into temptation*," says Dr. Clarke, "implies giving way, closing in with, and embracing it." *To be led into temptation*, Watson construes, "to be *OVERCOME* by it;" and Wesley,— "to be overcome, or to suffer loss thereby."‡ Strange, indeed, that the watchfulness and the prayers of the Christian should be thus limited, if, as the reviewer contends, he need not even feel the first instinctive impulses of the emotions or desires!

In exact accordance with these representations of Scripture, Clarke also says,— "Our spiritual interests shall be always advanced in proportion to our trials and faithful resistance."§ The trials, then, by which our spiritual interests are to be advanced, must be such as to call forth *resistance*; and as these interests are to be advanced *in proportion* to the resistance thus called forth, who shall say to what temptations the perfect—the *strong* Christian may be called? Why should he not, in the nervous

\* Sermon on Heaviness through Temptations.

† On this subject, see Wesley's Sermon on Temptation.

‡ See Clarke's, Watson's, and Wesley's notes on Matt. vi, 13.

§ Notes on Matt. iv.

language of the apostle, adopted by Fletcher to illustrate this very subject,\* be called—"to resist," even "unto blood, striving against sin?" But why talk of "resisting" at all, or of "striving *against* sin," when the mind, from the spontaneous action of the "purified moral sense," feels only "an excitement of abhorrence *against* the tempting object—not an excitement which must be resisted, but *consented* to as altogether holy!" This passage, even to the italicising, is the reviewer's; and for ourselves, we can find no means of reconciling it with the idea, that the perfect man can ever be called *to resist unto blood*, STRIVING AGAINST SIN. And released from the necessity of this resistance—this effort which is the condition of all moral improvement—what would the Christian be, in any stage of his progress, but a sort of moral petrification, simply preserving the form of what he once was!

2. We object also to the *theory* by which the reviewer attempts to support his doctrine of a mere intellectual temptation, and which he arrays against the philosophical objection stated in our former article. It is this, that the moral perception, when purified by grace, has the power of acting coetaneously with the intellectual perception; and thus the moral character of the thought, or object, or whatever else can become the medium of temptation, being perceived, the moral emotion takes precedence of the natural emotion in point of time, and actually annuls its action. This theory is expressed in the following words:—

"We contend that the sensibilities in a sanctified man are so pervaded, prepossessed by a prior influence, by the love of God, that all unlawful influences can be kept out—that the purified moral sense acts coetaneously with the intellect in perceiving the character of the excitant, and need allow it no admittance, if wrong, or, when the excitant is proper, and its excitement exists, can, not only *suspend*, but *prevent* any wrong direction of the natural excitement."

It is an essential element in this system, that the "purified moral sense" should not only possess this wonderful *quickness of perception*, but also a *power* adequate instantly to execute its sentence of exclusion on every unlawful excitant. Nor is this all; for men are as often solicited to an excessive indulgence in what is lawful, as to indulgence in what is unlawful. This purified moral sense, to answer the purposes of the reviewer, must then also be able to determine, in any and every case, the precise boundary between proper and excessive indulgence; and with so much promptness as effectually to intercept any natural emotion which might arise

\* Fletcher's Christian Perfection, 33mo., p. 115.



in the mind in view of an excitant prompting to excess. For the sake of brevity, a single illustration must suffice ; and we take the appetite of hunger—the same which the reviewer has himself used. The sanctified man, if his appetite is in a proper state to be excited by food, cannot, on this system, have it thus excited by the sight of any thing of which it would be unlawful to partake, however suddenly presented, or however doubtful any one but himself might be whether it is lawful or not. For his “purified moral sense acts coetaneously with the intellect in perceiving the character of the excitant ;” that is, the moral character of the object is by him perceived coetaneously with the perception of the object itself. Nor, if gratifying his excited appetite by the use of lawful food, can he feel one emotion in view of any of the luxuries of the banquet before him, after he has arrived at the proper point of indulgence—which point must be dictated to him by the same sort of unerring inspiration as that which in the other case tells him “the [moral] character of the excitant.” And this power must extend to every thing which may be made a medium of temptation by Satanic suggestion, as well as to the more natural excitants. Such is evidently the *theoretical* part of the reviewer’s system. Such it appears from his own statement of it which we have just given ; and such it must be, else he requires of the perfect Christian what it furnishes him no adequate means of securing.

We waive several popular objections to this part of the system, for the purpose of saying, that in our judgment it so far divests the perfect Christian of some of the essential elements of humanity, as naturally, if not necessarily, to lead to the conclusion, that such a state will never be actually attained by Christians in this life. In this view, we are confirmed by the fact, that the degree of perfection it sets forth is precisely that usually contended for by those who admit “the metaphysical truth that perfection in holiness is attainable,” while they deny that it ever has been attained. Whoever is familiar with the controversy which has recently been going on between the Oberlin divines and the leaders of the Calvinistic theology in New-England,\* cannot but have noticed, that the latter contend for the same perfection in degree, with the objector to our theory. We believe the fundamental error of all their reasonings to be, that they fix the standard of Christian perfection too high—higher than is recognized by the Scriptures of the New Testament, as it is confessedly higher than Wesley fixed it in his later writings. While, on the other hand, the perfection advocated by several of the most intelligent Calvinists who profess

\* See Biblical Repository, new series, vols. i, ii, iv, and v.

to have attained this state of grace,\* is the same with that which we set forth, believing it to be the true Wesleyan standard of Christian perfection. We believe this will have great weight with the thoughtful reader. The one is a practical doctrine, the other speculative; the state recognized by the one is attainable, while the attainment of the other is opposed to all our philosophical opinions, and men of logical minds cannot believe in it.

For the general reader, we shall barely state a *second* objection to this part of the reviewer's system, without argument; which is, that it implies in the sanctified man a perfection of the moral judgment not recognized by our psychology. The theory of all our psychological writers, so far as we have had the opportunity of examination on this particular subject, is, that the natural emotions are at all times liable to arise instantaneously and necessarily on the presentation of their appropriate stimulant; and that they often do thus arise, producing a coetaneous impulse on some of the desires; while the moral emotions are aroused, only after the moral character of the object begins to be developed, which, in the absence of all prior experience in regard to it, can often be done only by the feelings which it is found to excite; "the desire itself [that is, the nascent desire] being," as Brown says, "the only test, as it is the only proof, of tendency in objects to excite desire."† Without making long quotations in support of this view, we will suggest, that the writers of this class, who seem most in favor with the reviewer, so far as they refer to this precise point, appear to us clearly to support it. Dr. Schmucker lays down as one of the laws of "feeling"—in which term he includes the emotions and desires:—"Feeling is, in a great measure, involuntary at the time." And he adds:—"We cannot, when acted upon by an entity, and when our attention is directed to it, determine whether feeling shall or shall not, in the first instance, be excited in us."‡ He subsequently represents the moral powers as coming up to the man's aid thus:—"Oftentimes we decide against the solicitations of the present desire, in consequence of our recollection of other and more influential considerations to the contrary."§ And in another place he says,—"In some cases the moral character of the action may not be clear; and then continued attention and investigation are requisite, either to ascertain, by an induction of facts,

\* See Mahan's Christian Perfection, Discourse i, pp. 14-16. See, also, Guide to Christian Perfection, for July, 1842, p. 2.

† Philosophy of the Human Mind, Lecture lxxv.

‡ New System of Mental Philosophy, part ii, chap. 3.

§ Ibid., part iii, chap. ii, sec. 1.

the real tendency of the actions in question, or by continued exegetical investigations, conducted according to the laws of impartial hermeneutics, to ascertain the true sense of Scripture, to determine whether the disputed action is or is not interdicted in the sacred volume."\* The same views are most unequivocally set forth by Professor Upham, in his philosophical Works.† Indeed, what the reviewer seems to think would be a great defect in the moral constitution of man, this distinguished writer hesitates not to call "the glory of the moral nature." And this we believe to be the common view of metaphysical and ethical writers.

But the reviewer answers all this by saying,—

"Divine grace is a part of the system under which man is placed, his full liberty depends upon its power in the soul, and, by it, what would otherwise be the inevitable course of his nature, may be modified."

And this statement appears to be based on some remarks of Wesley, in which occurs the following passage:—"The mind has an intrinsic power of cutting off the connection between the judgment and the will." This power we most expressly conceded to the sanctified man, in our former article, and have already reaffirmed it in the same language. And we now as explicitly deny, that in the essay from which this remark is taken, there is a single expression in favor of the reviewer's notion—that the mind has any such power, intrinsic, or to be obtained by grace, as is implied in the ability to cut off what we have seen to be the natural connection between the intellection and the emotion; and this is the only question now at issue. But if not found in his metaphysical or speculative writings, is it not, in his Sermons or more practical productions, or in our other standard works? We think not. To our practical theology, then, we turn; and here we find our *third* objection to this part of the reviewer's system.

In the first place, in Wesley's Sermon on Christian Perfection, where he formally proposes and answers the question,—“In what sense are Christians perfect?” we find no such perfection of the moral judgment set forth as is claimed for the sanctified man by the reviewer. If he had had knowledge of any such “purified moral sense” as the reviewer speaks of, the omission here would seem quite inexcusable. But again, in his Sermon on Patience, he proposes the question,—“How does this work [referring to sanctification] differ from that gracious work which is wrought in every

\* New System of Mental Philosophy, part iii, chap. i, sec. 1.

† See Treatise on the Will, sec. 26; also Ment. Phil., vol. ii, sec. 155.



believer when he first finds redemption in the blood of Jesus, even the remission of his sins?" And how does he answer it?

"It does not imply any new *kind* of holiness: let no man imagine this. From the moment we are justified till we give up our spirits to God, love is the fulfilling of the law; of the whole evangelical law, which took place of the Adamic law, when the first promise of 'the seed of the woman' was made. Love is the sum of Christian sanctification; it is the one *kind* of holiness, which is found only in various *degrees*, in the believers who are distinguished by St. John, into 'little children, young men, and fathers.' The difference between one and the other properly lies in the degree of love."

Neither do we here find any thing of this "purified moral sense." Strange that it should be overlooked in such a comparison! Still again, Wesley says, and the passage is quoted with approbation by Fletcher:—

"The heaven of heavens is love. There is nothing higher in religion; there is, in effect, nothing else. If you look for any thing but more love, you are looking wide of the mark, you are getting out of the royal way. And when you are asking others, 'Have you received this or that blessing?' if you mean any thing but more love, you mean wrong; you are leading them out of the way, and putting them upon a false scent. Settle it then in your heart, that, from the moment God has saved you from all sin, you are to aim at nothing but more of that love described in the thirteenth of the Corinthians. You can go no higher than this, till you are carried into Abraham's bosom."\*

Our mental perceptions are as obtuse as even the reviewer considers them, if his theory of a "purified moral sense" does not here find a cutting rebuke! But still again, so far is Wesley from inculcating the doctrine in question, that repeatedly in his sermons he in the most express terms denies it. He says,—

"Notwithstanding all our care we shall still be liable to judge wrong in many instances. And a mistake in judgment will very frequently occasion a mistake in practice. Nay, a wrong judgment may occasion something in the temper or passions which is not strictly right. It may occasion needless fear, or ill-grounded hope; unreasonable love, or unreasonable aversion. But all this is in no way inconsistent with the perfection above described."†

And again, he asserts:—"They [perfect Christians] may believe either past or present actions, which were or are evil, to be good; and such as were or are good, to be evil."‡ Than this nothing could be more explicit. So far, then, from having this intuitive, and we may say supernatural, knowledge of the moral

\* Fletcher's Christian Perfection, 32mo., pp. 112, 113.

† Sermon on Perfection.

‡ Sermon on Christian Perfection.

character of every thought or perception which may be made the medium of temptation, according to Wesley's most express declaration, they may not always know the character of the acts themselves, even after they are performed. Were it necessary, further quotations might be made to the same effect, as well from Wesley as from our other standard writers.

But we have a still stronger view of this subject to present. The reviewer claims for our first parents the possession of this same "purified moral sense;" and even speaks of Adamic perfection as a "higher state" than Christian perfection. Now in regard to this "higher state," Wesley not only admits, in accordance with the declaration of the apostle, (1 Tim. xi, 14,) that the woman was "deceived" prior to the transgression; but seems to adopt the suggestion, that this was probably the only way in which she could have fallen. "It has been doubted," says he, "whether man could then [before the fall] choose evil, knowing it to be such." To this sentiment he adds what is precisely to our purpose:—"But it cannot be doubted, he might mistake evil for good. He was not infallible; therefore, not impeccable."\* Now, most obviously, these views of Wesley have no more agreement with the doctrine of the reviewer, as belonging even to the state of Adamic perfection, than light has with darkness; and yet this same doctrine, as applicable to the lower state of Christian perfection, is the *vital element* of his system.

We close our argument under this head, by remarking, that Wesley himself claimed such a perfection in some of his early writings. In the preface to a volume of hymns, published in 1741, he affirms of perfect believers,—

[1.] "They have no fear or doubt, either as to their state in general, or as to any particular action. [2.] 'The 'unction from the Holy One' teacheth them every hour *what they shall do*, and what they shall speak; [3.] *nor therefore have they any need to reason concerning it.*"

Between this claim—at least so far as we have italicised it—and that of the reviewer, there is most clearly no difference; the "purified moral sense" of the latter being but the "unction from the Holy One" recognized in this quotation. The spontaneous action of this "purified moral sense" cannot but remove all "doubt" as to the nature of "any particular action;" and it not only thus cuts off all "need to reason concerning it," but cuts off even the possibility to reason, since its action is represented as intuitive—coetaneous with the intellectual perception, while the

\* Sermon on the End of Christ's Coming.

latter, from the very nature of the case, precedes all reasoning. Thirty-six years after their first publication, Wesley appends to these propositions the following notes, viz., to the *first*,—"Frequently this is the case, but only for a time;" to the *second*,—"For a time it may be so, but not always;" and to the *third*,—"Sometimes they have no need, at other times they have."\* This we cannot but consider a formal relinquishment, on the part of the founder of Methodism, of the ground assumed by the reviewer; and after such an example, he will not consider the suggestion as wanting in respect, that *thirty-six years* of Christian experience may work some change in his views on this subject.†

3. We shall close our entire discussion by a brief examination of the quotations from Wesley and Fletcher, made by the reviewer in support of the system, to which we have now presented our twofold objection. And in regard to most of these, we may at the outset say, they are irrelevant to the question—not meeting the precise point in discussion. It would have been strange indeed had it been otherwise, since, as we have already seen, the theory against which the reviewer had arrayed himself was entirely misapprehended by him. A large part of these quotations *aim* at nothing, but to prove that pure love should be the controlling principle in the heart of the perfect man, and that all evil, worldly, and sensual desires are excluded. These are excluded by the theory originally propounded, since it allows nothing but what is "involuntary;" and these are on all hands admitted to be under the control of the will. In our exposition of the theory, which the reviewer had before him, they are expressly excluded, by the remark, that the sanctified man "does not allow temptations to take hold on the desires: he has attained the power of constantly arresting them *at this point*, and of successfully repelling them." And when Wesley uses the term "*tempers*," in the extracts made by the reviewer, these are but *desires*, in the language of more modern writers, for he applies this term to "pride," "self-will," and "anger."‡ So also of "*inward sins*," since among these he enumerates "pride," "anger," "foolish desire," and "any vain or inordinate affection."§ "*Sinful thoughts*," too, become such, only by voluntary indulgence—by being allowed to "wander from God

\* Plain Account of Christian Perfection.

† Since writing this article, we have read Dr. Peck's "Scripture Doctrine of Christian Perfection;" and in that work we find no attempt to establish or defend either of the positions of the reviewer. The reader will, however, find the subject we have had under discussion distinctly referred to on pp. 439-441.

‡ Sermon on Christian Perfection. § Sermon on the Wilderness State.



till they leave him no room in our minds," or "to produce or feed some sinful temper;" and, if injected by Satan, only "when we give place to them, and thereby make them our own."\* So also Clarke:—"Evil thoughts, though they pass through the mind of the sanctified man, never fix in his passions."† *The giving place to them*, then, the allowing them *to fix in the passions*—this is what makes evil thoughts *sinful*; and this view is in perfect harmony with our theory.

But the objector will say, that we allow an *involuntary* impulse of the desires, which we hold to be innocent; while Wesley says, the sanctified man, on being tempted to pride, "feels no pride," on being tempted to anger, "feels no anger at all," and on being tempted to lust, "feels no desire at all;" and in another place defends Paul against even "the inward stirrings of pride, anger, or lust." And Fletcher says, that "sin may arise from the momentary perversion of our tempers." These are the only quotations made by the reviewer which can without great effort be construed as at variance with the doctrines of the original theory. These, then, for a moment we will examine.

Before the days of Wesley, we believe ethical writers had never so clearly distinguished between the voluntary and involuntary stages of desire, as to make the use of the term "desires" ambiguous. When he speaks of "anger," or "pride," or "lust," or of the desires in general, we believe he *always* refers to what we now call their *voluntary* stage; and this because he always calls them "sins;" while in his Plain Account of Christian Perfection, he expressly tells us, that he does not call the *involuntary* transgressions of a divine law *sins*, but says,—"I believe a person filled with the love of God is still liable to these involuntary transgressions."‡ By the "*inward stirrings*," or "*motions*" of anger, pride, &c., we believe he means the *inward feeling*, as distinguished only from the *outward expression* of the feeling. Our reasons for this conclusion are, first, that he himself uses these terms in this antithetic relation to each other;§ and, second, that he calls these "inward stirrings of pride, anger, and lust," "*inward sins*," which, as we have just seen, is the precise designation he gives to "pride, anger, and lust," unqualified.|| To us this is conclusive as to the sense in which he uses this expression.

\* Sermon on Wandering Thoughts.

† Note on Eph. vi, 16.

‡ Works, vol. vi, p. 501.

§ Sermon on Christian Perfection.

|| Compare Sermons on the Wilderness State and on Christian Perfection.

If a doubt remains, whether Wesley includes among his "involuntary transgressions" our "involuntary excitement of the sensibilities," that doubt may be removed by referring to a tract published by him in the year 1772, entitled, *An Extract from the Journal of Elizabeth Harper*. Of this person he says, "I have no doubt but God had all her heart. But yet how many were her infirmities!" He goes on to enumerate several of these; and adds, "Perhaps one might mention, likewise, under this head, such vehement temptations to anger, to impatience, to fretfulness, to immoderate sorrow, and to follow her own will, that at divers times she escaped with the skin of her teeth, and scarcely knew whether she escaped or not."\* Without the use of the more definite terms which have been introduced into our mental philosophy since Wesley's day, we can scarcely conceive how our idea of an involuntary excitement of the sensibilities could be more strongly or more accurately expressed than in this passage. We have never supposed, that the perfect Christian is subject to more violent temptations than we understand to be here described; and there is nothing in the theory to indicate, that in the more advanced stages of his experience even such temptations may not be "few and far between."

As regards the reviewer's reference to Fletcher, we need only say, that the views of the latter on the subject under discussion appear most clearly to be in all respects accordant with those of Wesley.† To the entire passage to which allusion is made, the reader's attention is specially invited. This is supposed to be found in the sixteenth section of the Last Check;‡ and taken as a whole, it most unequivocally affirms the general doctrine of our theory. The term—"momentary perversion of our tempers"—of itself may perhaps be considered ambiguous. By the author himself, however, it is not even intimated that this momentary perversion of temper is sin; but only that sin may "spring from" it, as one of the parts of our *moral* frame, as an infirmity may grow out of our *animal* frame. A test is however furnished, by which to try its moral character, in the assertion of the same paragraph—that "*sin* flows from the avoidable and perverse choice of our own will," which assertion, it should be remarked, is made while formally defining those sins "which are inconsistent with an evangelically sinless perfection." If *avoidable* and *voluntary*, then, according to this lucid writer, *any* perversion of temper in the perfect man is sinful; otherwise, not. So says our theory; so, as

\* Works, vol. vii, p. 552. † In proof of this, see Last Check, sec. 1.

‡ Book Room edition, 1833, pp. 605, 606.

we understand them, say *all* our standard writers. If free from all his moral depravity, and filled with the love of God, his temptations cannot rise from within; but still he will be tempted, as Eve was tempted, unless "the devil should die or fall asleep, or, at least, should no more go about as a roaring lion." Good men, indeed, are often tempted; but however "vehement" the temptation, and even though they should be for the time "deceived" by their arch foe, still we say with Fletcher, that "so long as their will is bent upon doing God's will, they do not sin according to the gospel;"\* and with Watson, that "unless they parley with the tempter, or their will consents to the evil, 'he touches them not,' so as to leave any stain."†

The discussion, on our part, is now closed. Though we have, both in this and in our former article, taken up our pen only in defense of what we deem to be important practical truth, we have no disposition to complain, that we have been "challenged," or "compelled to this controversy;" and we must disclaim all knowledge of what the reviewer means when he uses this language in regard to himself.‡ We would not readily be "challenged" into the support of error; and the defense of Christian truth, it seems to us, needs no such apology. We might perhaps wish, for the sake of a portion of our readers, that some parts of our defense could have been less abstruse; but in the employment of terms or distinctions purely metaphysical, we have only used the weapons selected by the reviewer with which to commence or carry on the attack. They have, however, been very naturally suggested by the nature of the controversy, nor could they well have been entirely avoided. He who objects to thus calling in the aid of metaphysical investigations in the adjustment of important questions, has yet to learn the power of this kind of reasoning; and he who objects to the statement even of religious truth in the language of philosophy, need but be reminded of the advantages of stating such truths as are presented for universal acceptance in a language which shall be universally understood, rather than in the conventional terms and phrases of a sect. If the principles involved in this controversy be but once distinctly settled and practically understood, the Christian, or the teacher of Christianity, will find no difficulty in giving them utterance in the common dialect of plain Christian men. C.

*Dickinson College, October 4, 1842.*

\* Last Check, sec. 1.

† Sermon on the Temptation of Christ.

‡ Zion's Herald, July 20, 1842.



ART. IV.—*The Traveler's Directory for Illinois.* By J. M. PECK.  
New-York : J. H. Colton. 1840.

IN every portion of the civilized world the "big west" is attracting attention. Indeed, for the last fifty years every thing that pertains to the Valley of the Mississippi has been eagerly sought for : the extent of the country, the length and magnificence of its rivers, the beauty of its scenery, the fertility of its soil, its mineral wealth, its rich and boundless prairies, and its magnificent lakes, have all entered largely into considerations connected with this remarkable and growing portion of our land. Early in its history, the most exaggerated accounts of portions of the west were written, and read in Spain and France, as well as in other countries of Europe, representing it in the most enthusiastic terms ; by which thousands of individuals were induced to emigrate hither, among whom were many of the artisans of Paris and other cities, who sold their shops, and started for a country as wild as beautiful, to exchange a life of comparative ease and enjoyment for the hardships, sufferings, and privations of a new country, inhabited only by wild men and wild beasts. Thus we see the Frenchmen exchange their familiar tools—the mason his trowel, the shoemaker his "awls and ends," the weaver his shuttle, and the silversmith his delicate implements—for axes, hoes, and mattocks, and, pushing their way up the Mississippi and the Ohio, commence their conquest—the conquest of the wilds of nature, in which thousands fell : the sufferings of many, who had been led hither by a strange love of adventure, have never been told. What did a Parisian artist, whose life and labors had from his infancy been confined within the walls of a city, know about a new country ? How could he clear up the forest and seed the ground ? Whence was to come his bread and his clothing ? Among the anecdotes related of some of the early French settlers of Ohio is their manner of felling a tree, which was by sending one of the company into its top with a rope, which was fastened to a limb, and then while several men pulled at the rope, one cut away at the root. What would one of our Vermont yankees say to this ? But laughable as this may appear, it is not more so than some notions exhibited by some enterprising youths from the city of New-York. During the prevalence of the speculating mania, almost every publication contained high-wrought descriptions of the west, and especially of the prairies. And then might be seen individuals, from the great commercial emporium, with a glowing description of a western prairie

in one hand, and a "Cultivator" in the other, studying *agriculture*, and the business of farming *scientifically*. With a few hundred dollars, they had come to the west, purchased farms, ploughs, wagons, and oxen, and entered joyously upon their new vocation. The writer recollects an instance of three or four young men, similarly educated, who, after the purchase of a "claim" of near a thousand acres of land, with a prairie team, consisting of six yoke of oxen, hired a man for a few days to show them how to yoke and drive, when one of the number took lessons from his instructor with becoming attention, by patiently walking alongside, with the names of the oxen all properly written down on a piece of paper which he had up before him, and calling them over and over, with a *haw* and *gee*, until he could appropriate the right name to each.

But it was not by the hands of the polite but pusillanimous Frenchman, or the lazy and arbitrary Spaniard, or yet by the fancy-taught and imbecile of Atlantic cities, that the west was to thrive. We see a tide of hardy and industrious emigration crossing the Alleghanies, gradually moving down the Ohio, settling in the Valleys of Muskingum, the Miamis, and the Scioto—one branch spreading over Kentucky and Tennessee, and another stretching up to the north, meeting another tide putting into the north part of Ohio and Michigan, and the whole gradually moving westward in a solid column, reaching far up into Wisconsin and Iowa, spreading over Indiana and the magnificent prairies of Illinois and Missouri, and now still moving on toward the Rocky Mountains.

Let us take a map of North America and spread it out before us. Let us calculate the number of acres of land lying between the Alleghany and the Rocky Mountains, and south of the lakes; take into consideration the qualities of the soil, the varieties of climate, its adaptation to the production of wheat, corn, cotton, sugar, and all kinds of stock, and, in fact, every article that enters largely into the consumption of the human family, except coffee and tea. Then notice its rivers: see the great "father of waters" taking its rise among the "wild rice lakes of the far frozen north," sweeping onward to the Gulf of Mexico through the centre of the "great valley;" the Missouri, coming from the west, a distance of three thousand miles, to pour its turbid waters into the same channel; the Ohio coming down from the Alleghanies, gathering up rivulets and rivers until it becomes a mighty river of itself, and is lost in the bosom of its great "father;" and in fact, see all the waters of nearly a million and a half of square miles gathered into one

tremendous river, which bears them off to the ocean. Yea, more, we will notice the situation of the northern lakes, and their contiguity to the western states and territories. And when we consider the fact that they are well adapted to navigation by large steam and sailing vessels, and that the western rivers are all navigated by steamboats, we may form some estimate of the facilities of the west for the purposes of navigation and commerce. Really it would seem that nature had left but little for man to do by way of internal improvements. A canal through the heart of Ohio already connects the Ohio River with the lakes, and one partly constructed is designed to connect the Illinois River with Lake Michigan, which, when done, will be the most magnificent canal in the Union, and through it will flow not only the products of the fertile prairies of Illinois, but Iowa and Missouri will seek this channel of communication to send their wheat and tobacco to New-York. What has already been done in the west has astonished the world; its advancement has distanced all previous calculation. While England and France, as well as other enlightened nations, have to trace back their origin, from their present eminent positions, through bloody wars and revolutions, pointing to their millions of slain, ours has been, under the protection and benign influences of a good government, a peaceful conquest—the conquest over the wilds of nature, subjugating them to the wants of man, and amply are they paying him for his toil. “Action, persevering action,” seems to be the motto of our American people; and while improvement has been added to invention; while mechanism has made new applications of its principles to the propelling of machinery and for all manufacturing purposes; and while agriculture has improved in all its various departments, the west has opened to business and business men its boundless resources. In the recent message of the governor of Vermont to the legislature he brings before that body the subject of the growing of wool, almost a staple article of that state, which has already suffered considerable depreciation, in which he says, “that the rich and almost boundless prairies of the west are becoming covered with flocks of sheep,” which seems to occasion not only “present inconvenience, but uneasiness as to the future.” But it is not only the growing of wool that is to be affected in time to come by the competition arising from the cheapness of the cultivation of the prairies and their fertility, but there is now a change going on in other departments of business that will astonish the eastern farmer. From almost any point on Lake Michigan, flour can be shipped to New-York at a cost of about fifty cents a barrel;



and in Chicago alone it is estimated that from four thousand to ten thousand bushels of wheat per day have been bought for purposes of shipment, from the 15th of August to the 15th of October, at prices ranging from forty to fifty-five cents per bushel, a greater part of which was carried a distance over the prairies of from fifty to one hundred and fifty miles, and there is no doubt that the farmers are annually improving their condition and adding to their wealth and facilities. And if it be a fact, that the tillage of the prairies is still in its incipiency, what may we expect when the present farms shall be enlarged, and new ones added all over the rich plains of Illinois, Wisconsin, Iowa, and Missouri, toward which result we are rapidly advancing? Not only will all kinds of produce be furnished at an astonishingly low rate, but the price of lands all over the eastern states will greatly depreciate as a natural consequence, when the income therefrom will have depreciated, owing to western competition.

If, then, the west is so important and interesting a portion of our country in all that pertains to trade and business; if from its geographical position, extent, and great facilities and boundless resources, it is destined to be the theatre of great events, where political power in the broad extent of our government will poise, then should we study well the disposition and character of its people, and all that tends to advance the temporal and spiritual good of man.

The policy of the general government in reserving one section of land, or six hundred and forty acres in each township of the whole public domain, for educational purposes, and placing it under the control of the respective states, has left the people in possession of a patrimony of immense value. But notwithstanding the people have thus been put in possession of the means of education, yet owing to defective systems of common schools, sparse settlements, and negligence, many of the early settlers of the west and south-west have received little or no advantage from common or any other schools. Recently, however, more attention has been bestowed upon this important subject, and where poor systems existed they have been revised and improved. The system of common schools in Ohio is thought to be equal to any in the United States. That of Michigan is also good. In Illinois, during the prevalence of the speculating mania, the school fund was loaned to the internal improvement fund, and was foolishly expended; and hence this creditor of the state, as well as her creditors abroad, must wait her ability to pay.

Seminaries and colleges in the west are usually much inferior to

similar institutions in the east. Science is more neglected. "A report of a geological survey" of a western state is a rare article to be met with, and if Ohio and Michigan are excepted, perhaps it might be said that there has been none of any particular value, which fact of itself would show that science has been greatly neglected. If some of the western states had spent a portion of their money for geological instead of "rail-road surveys," which have been of no earthly value, how much better would it have been!

The literature of the west is mostly political and religious. Politics always run high. The practice of "stump speaking" obtains generally. When candidates "come out" for office, they traverse their district. Sometimes opposing candidates travel together, and by arrangement speak and answer each other before the same audience. The doctrines thus discussed are rediscussed by the people, who are political partisans not only in theory, but in fact; and in nearly all the western states voting is done *viva voce*—the voter usually reading the names of the candidates to the judges from a printed or written ticket. These speeches often contain much that is interesting, and as often much that is queer and laughable. The political campaign of 1840 called forth some most powerful and spirited speeches from both political creeds, abounding in bold and stirring eloquence. What can be said of political aspirants for office is equally applicable to the bar; for politics, with some, is no less a profession than the law. The useless custom of associate judges, which is attached to the judiciary of some of the eastern states, does not obtain in the west; the "court" here consisting of one man, usually a lawyer. An individual accustomed to associating the idea of a venerable and dignified personage with that of a judge, would not be so well pleased with the young whiskered judges of the west, such as are often put upon the bench through the trickery of political management. The eloquence of the bar is usually verbose and overstrained, but little attention being paid to chasteness and correctness of speech. In early times courts were held in school-houses, log cabins, and sometimes on the open prairie, or in the groves. This is now seldom the case. It has been thought, and perhaps wisely too, that the western bench lacked dignity and self-respect. In times past it was doubtless the case that in many instances *law* meant *might*, which was to be enforced or resisted by the Bowie knife or pistol—when judges deemed it necessary "to flog the lawyers into a conviction of the justness of their decisions." But of late, the western bench has greatly improved, and, in many

instances, both judges and lawyers will compare well with any of the profession in the United States.

The mass of the people are active and stirring—fond of “the largest liberty”—“go in,” as they say, for religious toleration, and contend earnestly for the freedom of speech and the liberty of the press. The tone of the higher order of newspapers is bold, racy, and witty. The political literature of the west is that of the newspaper press, and the speeches of public men. That of the former is greatly superior to the latter.

Among the more important works which pertain to the west, is the learned work of John Delafield, on the Antiquities of America. Quite recently a large work has been published by George Catlin, entitled, *North American Indians*, which, with the work of Mr. Delafield, is worthy of a particular and extended notice. By these two works we learn that the subjects of the antiquities and aborigines of the west have received some attention at least. But where shall we find a history of the “west?” It is true Mr. Butler has written a history of Kentucky, and Michigan and Ohio have their historians, but they all greatly fall short of what is wanted. Mr. Lanman wrote his history of Michigan in 1839, while the wild schemes of internal improvement which pervaded the whole country were being prosecuted in that state, and hence his history is behind the times. The work at the head of this article contains a synopsis of about all the history that has ever been written of Illinois. It is written by J. M. Peck, a Baptist preacher of some note, an old pioneer of Illinois, and contains much minute information of interest. But we have now fallen upon peculiar times, when the ordinary current of human affairs is turned out of its accustomed course, when the history of magnificent schemes of internal improvement is equivalent to that of abandoned ditches, and piles of dirt and stones, which have been made at the cost of American credit and honor. And now that there is a pause in the affairs of men, and time given to write a history, which, when done, will not be *old*, who will furnish the world with a faithful history of the “Valley of the Mississippi?”

From the following statistics we have a statement of the comparative strength of religious societies in Illinois, as found in the *Traveler's Directory* :—

“The *Methodist Episcopal Church* is the most numerous. The Illinois Conference, which embraces this state, (Illinois,) Wisconsin, and Iowa Territories, in 1838 had eleven ‘districts,’ under as many presiding elders, besides their Indian missions. They have one hundred and forty-eight preachers in the traveling con-



nection, and four hundred and twenty-two local preachers. Number of members in the society, twenty-three thousand three hundred and seventy-five, of which about twenty thousand are in the state of Illinois."

In 1840 the General Conference divided the Illinois Conference, putting the north part of the state with Wisconsin and Iowa, called the Rock River Conference, which numbers now of itself nearly as many traveling preachers as the whole Illinois Conference did in 1838, and it will doubtless be found necessary at the next General Conference to divide this.

"The *Baptist denomination* have one state convention, twelve associations, including one hundred and twenty-six churches, one hundred and twenty-four ministers, and four thousand four hundred and thirty-nine communicants." That part of this denomination which does not co-operate with the former in educational and missionary purposes, is stated to be "thirteen associations, one hundred and sixty churches, eighty ministers, and four thousand three hundred communicants." Whether this includes the Free Will Baptists or not is not stated; if not, it may be proper to state that there are many members of that faith in the state.

"The Presbyterians are divided into *old* and *new* school," but the author has only documents showing their numbers in 1836 when they were united, which was, "One synod, eight presbyteries, eighty churches, sixty ministers, and two thousand five hundred communicants."

"The *Methodist Protestants* have one conference, thirteen circuits, twenty-eight unstationed ministers, and six hundred and seventy members.

"The *Reformers*, as they term themselves, or 'Campbellites,' as others call them, have several large and a number of small societies, a number of preachers, and several hundred members, including the *Christian* body, with whom they are in union." This item is not very definite, to be sure, but it is thought that this denomination has not increased.

"The *Cumberland Presbyterians* have two synods, six presbyteries, seventy churches, fifty preachers, and two thousand communicants.

"The *Protestant Episcopal Church* has an organized diocese, under the supervision of Bishop Chase. The documents promised by the worthy bishop not having arrived, I must estimate the congregations at twelve, the clergy at seven, and the communicants at two hundred."

This estimate is doubtless too small, as the three churches of

Chicago, Galena, and Alton must have at least that number of communicants.

"There are probably half a dozen *Unitarian* congregations in the state, and three or four ministers.

"A *Universalist Convention* has been organized in the north part of the state, which appears to indicate that there are several congregations and preachers of that sect."

"In M'Lean county is a society of *United Brethren*, or, as some call them, *Dutch Methodists*.

"The *Dunkards* have five or six societies, and some preachers in the state." Quite a number of this denomination have recently settled in the vicinity of Mount Morris, Ogle county, from Maryland.

"There are small societies of *Friends* or *Quakers* in Tazewell and Crawford counties, and a few *Mormons* scattered throughout the state. They are becoming numerous in Adams and Hancock counties."

Since the above was written, this singular sect have received large accessions at their city of Nauvoo, in Hancock county, from England, and from different parts of the United States,\* and it is estimated that they now number in that county alone about ten thousand.

"The *Roman Catholics* are not numerous. They have a dozen congregations, half a dozen priests, and a population of five or six thousand, including old and young. The Roman Catholics are mostly about the old French villages, and the laborers along the line of canal and railroads."

After what has been written and said of late relative to the great danger to be apprehended from the accumulating strength and influence of the Roman Catholics in the west, the above estimate of their numbers in Illinois may appear surprising. But the fact is, their strength has been greatly overrated. It is true they are more numerous in Ohio, Missouri, and Louisiana; but independent of the cities of Cincinnati, St. Louis, and New-Orleans, their numbers would not greatly differ in these states from those of Illinois. But be this as it may, there is not that danger to be apprehended from their influence that some of the people of the United States have supposed. The genius of our government is not well adapted to the growth of Roman Catholicism. It can exist in Italy or Spain, but it will not suffer transplanting to our American shores. There it has existed almost from time immemorial, coming down with legends and superstitious traditions, connecting religion

\* For a sufficiently full account of this group of fanatics, see "*Mormonism and the Mormons*," by Rev. D. P. Kidder, published at the Book Concern.

with every subject and every object, until every hill-side and mountain is associated with some imaginary deity or some religious dread. Hence Roman Catholicism has entwined itself into the very mental constitution of the people, and is perpetuated and enforced by an ever-active and vigilant priesthood. But when Catholics emigrate to this country, become scattered throughout the land, identify themselves with Protestants from almost every country and of every creed, they are like balls of fire falling on mountains of ice. Out from under the eye of the priest, and in all the business of life mixing with those of other religious belief, or of none, they lose their zeal in their isolated condition. At least, this is the case in the country. In cities, however, it may be different. There, greater opportunity is afforded for discipline and combination.

And while we may hope that our fears of encroachment upon our political and religious rights from that source may be groundless, on the other hand, may we not also hope, that the aggressive power and influence of true Christianity may prove to the posterity of transplanted Catholics "*a far more exceeding and eternal weight of glory?*"

"There is considerable expression of good feeling among the different religious denominations, and the members frequently hear the preachers of each other, as there are but few congregations supplied every sabbath. The qualifications of the clergymen are various. A number of them are men of talents, learning, influence, and unblemished piety. Others have had but few advantages in acquiring either literary or theological information, and yet are good speakers and useful men."

"The number of preachers of all denominations will range between nine hundred and eighty and one thousand. It will be understood that a very large majority, say about two-thirds, follow some secular calling, but devote a portion of the sabbaths, and occasionally secular days, to preaching the gospel. The amount of voluntary and gratuitous labors thus bestowed by preaching the gospel in the western states, is incalculable. A vast amount of good has been done by a class of self-taught preachers, possessing vigorous minds, and a reasonable share of common sense, with exemplary piety."

The general impression abroad is, that the people of the west, as a body, are a law-resisting, heaven-daring people, advocates of Lynch law, and the free use of the Bowie knife. And to prove the charges, we are pointed to riots, mobs, and murders. To the charges in part we plead "guilty," and "throw ourselves upon the mercy of the court." On the other hand, it must be remembered, that a long line of western frontier of near three thousand miles



has given the greatest possible opportunity for the congregation and combination of pick-pockets, gamblers, horse thieves, and all sorts of scoundrels, where the settlements have been sparse and officers of the law powerless. Take the case of Ogle county, Illinois, where the Driscols were shot in 1841. The circumstances were these :—A gang of counterfeiters and horse thieves had been broken into, and some of them were arrested ; but just before trial, the court-house was burned down, with the expectation, it is believed, of the escape of the prisoners, who were confined in a small building close to it. This led to an organization of the citizens into a company, who proposed summary trial and punishment of such as they knew to be guilty. The principal ground of justification urged for this procedure is, that owing to the existence of such a gang of depredators, who were stealing horses and destroying the property of the citizens, when there was little or no hope of their being confined until the session of court for a regular trial by law, that self-preservation and the protection of their property made it necessary for the citizens to take the law into their own hands. Among the first-fruits of the organization was the death of Mr. Campbell, a respectable citizen, the leader of the organized party, who was shot in his own door by one of the Driscols—the others aiding and being privy to his murder. Hence the Driscols were apprehended and taken by the organized party. A jury was selected and counsel furnished them, and after going through all the forms of a trial, they were judged guilty, and were shot.

Far be it from our purpose to justify mob law in any instance : it is wrong ; and although there may appear causes of justification for its use in some particular circumstances, yet the supremacy of law should be always and invariably maintained, and that people who depart from this rule will do so to their regret and sorrow. But while the people of the west are arraigned as disorganizers, regardless alike of religion and law, let a proper comparison be instituted between their outbreaks and the riots of Boston, New-York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, and other places in the eastern states ; and while we are compelled to take shame to ourselves, we ask, Where is the great difference between them and us ?

The people of the west, generally, are as great lovers of good order and law as any in our land. They are a busy, moving people, of strong impulses, and highly patriotic. As they are powerfully moved in masses by political orations and stump speeches, so it is in matters of religion. The same love of public performances is apparent in both. The indifference of the people

on matters of religion is not owing so much to avowed infidelity as to a want of *feeling* on the subject. The western man is active, full of business and schemes of money-making, so that he seems to want time to devote to religion. But address his highest passions, appeal to his noblest nature, enlist the strong impulses of his heart by high and holy considerations, and then he listens, then he feels, and when he feels he acts, and acts promptly; and so it is with communities. Hence, it will be perceived, that dry, systematic, metaphysical pulpit performances, such as would be popular in the east, would not be suited to the west. Hence, too, the mortification and disappointment of some preachers who had hoped to find a people in the west who would more gratefully appreciate their small talents and smaller stock of information than their ungrateful brethren of the east. But if a man is conscious that his caliber is too small for an eastern audience, let him pause before he goes west, where he will find big prairies, cold rides, and a colder reception.

Thus it may be perceived that the chief instrument by which the people of the west are to be brought to a knowledge of the truth, is the pulpit. But let us speak more particularly of the church of our choice, and inquire to what extent it may or may not be interested in this matter. The time has been when preachers in the Methodist Episcopal Church, of ordinary talents and limited attainments, but ardent piety, were of great service to the church and the world. Among such are many who are still active in the field, and some who are superannuated, who are still useful; and far be it from us to underrate the value of their services. But is it not a fact, that at this moment the body of the laity of the church is in advance of the ministry in literary and scientific attainments? Is not the standard of education among the membership much higher than it is among the ministry? and, if so, how can ministers of the gospel maintain that influence and high respect due their ministerial calling? While members of the church, of limited circumstances, in thousands of instances, are giving their children a good academical education, and not unfrequently "sending them to college," designing thus to qualify them merely for the ordinary pursuits of life—the annual conferences, who are our peers in spiritual things, are receiving men as preachers into the traveling connection grossly ignorant of the English language. Is it not so? We appeal to the knowledge of our ministers on this subject. The idea that piety is the chief and only qualification in a candidate for the ministry is certainly a very mistaken one. Piety is wanted in a leader as well as in a private

member; and if this is the standard, then if the church were all pious, as it should be, we would all be suitable candidates for the ministry. Our Discipline requires "gifts" as well as "grace," and if a man is foolish enough to believe that he is called to the ministry, when he is ignorant of his own language and many of the plain doctrines of the Bible, it is no reason why the conference should receive him on his own *ipse dixit*, and send him forth to teach the church and the world things of which he is profoundly ignorant. In this age of the world, when the means of a good common school education, at least, are within the reach of every enterprising boy of our land, is it not strange that there should be found any individual who is too ignorant to appreciate these advantages, and yet who desires to be a public teacher? This subject is of deep interest to the church at this time; and it is to be hoped that the suggestions of President Durbin connected therewith, contained in his recent letters from Europe, will receive that attention due their great importance. And upon the action of the church on this subject will greatly depend its future prosperity and success in the "Valley of the Mississippi."

"PRAIRIES.—A large part, probably two-thirds of the surface of the state, consists of prairies. A common error has prevailed abroad that our prairie land is wet. Much of it is undulating and entirely dry. *Prairie* is a French word signifying *meadow*, and is applied to any description of surface that is destitute of timber and brushwood, and clothed with grass. In the southern part, that is, south of the National road leading from Terre Haute to the Mississippi, the prairies are comparatively small, varying in size from those of several miles in width to those containing only a few acres. As we go northward they widen and extend on the more elevated ground between the water courses to a vast distance, and are frequently from six to twelve miles in width. These borders are by no means uniform. Long points of timber project into the prairies and line the banks of the streams, and points of prairie project into the timber between these streams. In many instances are copses and greens of timber of one hundred to two thousand acres in the midst of prairies, like islands in the ocean. This is a common feature of the country between the Sangamon River and Lake Michigan and the northern parts of the state. The lead mine region, both in this state and Wisconsin Territory, abounds with these groves."

On seeing these beautiful prairies, the inquiry forces itself upon the mind: Whence or how had they their origin? A more satisfactory answer may be given to this question when a thorough examination shall be made of the geological structure of the Valley of the Mississippi. Here is a wide field for geological inquiry. Until the world shall be furnished with more particular and correct



information by means of geological surveys of this important part of the earth's surface, we must be content with suppositions and uncertain theories. There is one fact that strikes the attention of almost every observer with peculiar force, which is, the evidences everywhere to be seen indicating that the country has been overflowed with water at a period not very remote. These are found in the appearance of the rocks on and near the banks of rivers, which indicate a much higher stage of water than the present level of these rivers. On the Illinois River and Rock River may be seen rocks composed principally of limestone, with which are mixed innumerable fossil shells, and the rocks are rounded in the shape of cones, and present all the other appearances of the most powerful action of water upon them, situated from fifty to one hundred feet above the present level of the rivers. Another evidence is found in the fact, that quantities of wood are often found imbedded in the soil far beneath the surface of the earth. This is common in the south part of the state of Illinois and in Kentucky. Besides these is still another, the existence of bowlders or primitive rocks, scattered all over the prairies, and which, from their rounded surface, indicate that they have been rolled along by floods of ice. And then the question comes, How can we account for these facts?

In attempting to account for the existence of men and animals on the continent of America previous to its discovery by Europeans, Clavigero advances the following views:—

“The Americans of the south are of a character too different from those in the north to be regarded as having a common origin.

“Their passage to this continent is necessarily connected with that of several animals which cannot have traversed the frozen zones; nor can it for a moment be admitted that these animals swam across the ocean; and still less, that those that are ferocious can have been brought in ships by man: the migration can therefore be explained only on the supposition of a connection between the two hemispheres, either on the side of Africa or Asia.”

The theory of Colcott is similar to that of Clavigero. He says,—

“That from what has been offered we may conclude, that Africa and America were once joined, or, at least, separated from each other only by a narrow gulf, and that some time after the flood the earth was divided or parted asunder, probably by an earthquake, and then this middle land sunk beneath the bottom of the ocean.”

Mr. Lyell, an author of considerable note on the subject of geology, speaks of the Pacific Ocean in the following language:—

"That it is also well known that the Pacific is a great theatre of volcanic action, and every island yet examined in the wide region termed Eastern Oceanica consists either of volcanic rocks or coral limestone."

These quotations are made merely for the purpose of showing that men who have bestowed labored attention on the subjects therein discussed, agree in the conclusion, that there have been some tremendous changes in the structure of the earth's surface on the American continent since the Noician flood. And to support these views the learned Dr. Adam Clarke is made to speak, whose profound erudition and extensive information seem to have extended to almost every subject within the wide range of human investigation.

In the tenth chapter of Genesis, and twenty-fifth verse, we read as follows:—"And unto Eber were born two sons; the name of one was Peleg; for in his days was the earth divided; and his brother's name was Joktan." On this passage Dr. Clarke remarks:—"Peleg, from *palag*, to divide, because in his days, which is supposed to be about one hundred years after the flood, the earth was divided among the sons of Noah. Though some are of opinion that a physical division and not a political one is what is intended here, viz., a separation of continents and islands from the main land, the earthy parts having been united into one great continent previous to the days of Peleg. This opinion appears to be the most likely."

Leaving these extracts without further comment, we will proceed on the supposition that the Valley of the Mississippi has been actually covered with water since the Noician flood; and if Clavigero and Colcott are permitted to call into existence a continent from the bottom of the ocean for the migration of men and animals to this country, surely we shall not be deemed unpardonably presumptuous if we suppose the existence of a vast lake, when we have so many evidences of the fact before us.

By reference to the map of North America, it will be seen that a range of highlands, of which the Cumberland Mountains form a part on the east side of the Mississippi, and the Ozark Mountains forming a part on the west side of the Mississippi, present a line of elevated lands running nearly from the Alleghany to the Rocky Mountains. It will require no great stretch of the imagination to suppose that these once presented a continuous chain, and that these rugged hills and barren mountains are but the broken remains of a great barrier which dammed back all the waters which now flow into the Gulf of Mexico, and that Lake Mississippi (if we may

be permitted to name it) was once connected with Lake Michigan, as Lake Michigan is now connected with Lake Huron. It is evident that Lake Michigan once had an outlet to the west, from the fact of the existence of a broad channel which runs from near the lake shore to where the Kankakee empties into the Illinois River, a distance of several miles, which is sufficiently deep and broad to indicate the passage of a large stream of water. It is said that when the waters are high, an easy passage can be made with a canoe from the Chicago River, which empties into the lake, into the Kankakee, one of the tributaries of the Illinois River, which shows that a slight depression in the shore would now give an outlet to that great sheet of water on its west side. This fact was noticed by Professor Silliman in his Journal of Science several years ago, who gave it as his opinion, that this lake once had a higher level, and that this dry channel was its outlet to the west.

But perhaps it would be well to see if the evidences and facts which would indicate the existence of a lake may not be reconciled with the Scripture account of Noah's flood, before we indulge in any new hypothesis. Let us see. In the account of the flood, in the eighth chapter of Genesis, we read:—"The fountains also of the deep and the windows of heaven were stopped, and the rain from heaven was restrained; and the waters returned from off the earth continually; and after the end of the *one hundred and fifty days* the waters were abated." So it seems that the waters of the flood abated after *one hundred and fifty days*. Now is *one hundred and fifty days* a sufficient length of time to account for the wearing of the rocks before alluded to? Does any one suppose that the mural ledges of rocks, which are to be seen on the west side of the Mississippi River, between St. Louis and the mouth of the Ohio, could have been thus worn in *one hundred and fifty days*? This would seem to be impossible. These rocks look as though they had been surged for ages, and if we could imagine that the world had been turned upon its apex, and that all the waters of "old ocean" had swept along these precipices, we could hardly believe that these deep grooves could have been worn into the solid rocks in the space of "one hundred and fifty days."

But suppose that the appearances of the rocks, as well as the composition of some previously noticed, the existence of wood, logs, &c., deeply imbedded in the earth in large quantities, can all be satisfactorily accounted for as the effects of the Noician flood, how can we account for the existence of the bowlders or primitive rocks which are scattered all over the Valley of the Mississippi?



Now it is utterly impossible for these to have been wrested from their solid beds by the action of water alone, and swept onward thousands of miles, wearing them as round as a man's head, some of which are as large as a "log cabin," and weighing more than a hundred tons, in the short space of *one hundred and fifty days*. Actual observation has proved beyond a doubt that these rocks came from the north, where there now exist extensive ridges of the same kinds from north of St. Anthony's Falls to Lake Superior, and the further we go north the larger these rocks are, and in shape the less globular, until they are found in their solid beds. It is said that the northern shore of Lake Superior is composed of the same granite rocks, where they stand up in bold precipices. In winter the rain and snow, falling into the fissures and crevices of the rocks, freeze, and burst off the outer layers, which fall down upon the ice on the lake, and when the lake breaks up in the spring the wind from the north blows the ice across the lake, and deposits these rocks on the southern shore. On the supposition, then, of a vast lake covering the Valley of the Mississippi, this fact furnishes us with an idea of the manner in which the same kind of rocks have been conveyed to where they now lie all over the prairies, and indeed the whole western country. Hence, too, the deposits of wood, which, as we approach the south, become more abundant; and hence the immense collections of fresh water shells, which are found on the north side of the Cumberland Mountains. Mr. Priest says,—

"In 1826, in a depth of more than eighty feet under the surface of the ground, was found on the banks of the Ohio the stump of a tree, three feet in diameter and ten feet high, which had been cut down with an axe. The blows of the axe were yet visible. It was nearly of the color and apparent character of coal, but had not the friable and fusible quality of that substance."

"The reflections on this discovery are these:—First. That the tree was undoubtedly antediluvian. Second. That the river now called the Ohio did not exist anterior to the deluge, inasmuch as the remains of the tree were found firmly rooted in its original position several feet below the bed of that river. Third. That America was peopled before the flood, as appears by the action of the axe in cutting down the tree. Fourth. That the antediluvian Americans were acquainted with the use and properties of iron, as the rust of the axe was on the top of the stump when discovered."

It is supposed by geologists that the Wyoming Valley, of celebrated beauty and fertility, was once the body of a lake. The deep gorge in the mountains at the Nanticoke Falls, the rich alluvial soil at the lower end of the valley, and the white gravel

and sand at the upper end of the same, would indicate the probability of the supposition. It is stated that when the North Branch Canal was excavated along the bank of the Susquehannah River, below these falls, a number of fire-places were found, which were made of the same kind of stone as that found on the adjoining mountains, and that with them were found ashes and charcoal from ten to twenty feet beneath the surface of the earth. If we were to adopt the views of Mr. Priest in accounting for his "stump," we must conclude that these fire-places, &c., were of antediluvian origin; when, in fact, it is probable that a beautiful lake existed on the fertile plains of Wyoming long since the settlement of the country by the aborigines, on the banks of which the Indian shot "the bounding roe," and glided his canoe over its silvery waters. The beautiful Susquehannah, as if it had grown weary in its long journey, seems to have paused for a moment to eddy around those towering hills, and then leaped over the barrier that restrained its course, and rolled on to the Chesapeake. But finally this barrier gave way, and inundated the valley below. Hence the covered fire-places.

Is it not very probable that Mr. Priest's "stump" was inundated in a similar way, only on a small scale? Doubtless, when the barriers which held up the western waters first gave way, there were left innumerable small lakes, such as are now found in Michigan and Wisconsin, and where their boundaries were not sufficiently strong to resist the pressure of the water, they gave way, and the waters found their way into other streams and rivers. There is a very pretty lake in Wisconsin called the Geneva Lake, which is about nine miles long and from one to three miles wide. At its outlet it precipitates into a deep ravine, and runs into the Fox River. By making an excavation of perhaps twenty feet deep and ten rods long, it would entirely drain the lake, and if its shores were not sufficiently strong it would have long since burst its bounds, leaving perhaps a small prairie with a few springs, and a creek running through it. Doubtless the present inhabitants have occasion to cut down some of the trees in this ravine below the level of Lake Geneva, and if at some future day its shore should be pressed asunder, more antediluvian "stumps" could be found in that vicinity. Most likely this "stump" of Mr. Priest's was situated in a ravine, below a small body of water, and was covered in some similar manner. The fact of its being "ten feet high" shows that it must have been situated in a low place, around which some eight feet of soil must have washed before it was cut, as "ten feet" is a little too high for a man to reach to cut off a tree "three feet through."

One of the grand features of the west is its prairies. To see a country fresh from the hand of nature, of the richest soil, covered with grass and wild flowers, where there is not a tree, nor shrub, nor stone to impede the progress of the plough, is truly a beautiful and interesting sight; though we may not be able with certainty to account for their origin. Observation shows the following facts, a statement of which may aid us in coming to a probable opinion on the subject. First, that the groves and other timber in a prairie country grow on three different kinds of soil. Second, that these three kinds of soil are different from the soil of the prairies. The soil of the timber lands are as follows: The first is composed of an underlayer of clay, with a mixture of good soil on the top. This is the quality of land on which the groves and "oak openings" are situated. Second, a sandy or barren soil, which produces poor and scrubby timber; and, third, a loose alluvial soil on river or creek bottoms or islands, which produces the tallest and best timber. The soil of the prairies is a rich, deep, vegetable mold, where the prairie grass mats into a thick, tough sward, and which naturally does not seem to be adapted to the production of timber; while, on the other hand, the soil peculiar to the growth of timber does not produce the prairie grass. You will see a kind of grass in the groves and openings, but it is of a different kind and growth from that on the prairies. So it seems, that when the face of the country was first exposed to the influence of the sun's rays, the grass took the ascendancy on one species of soil, while the timber grew and took the ascendancy on other kinds, and that they have kept up those lines of distinction ever since. In many places, it is evident, that the fire which has annually swept over the prairies has caused some changes, and from indications it is very probable that whole groves have been burnt off; but wherever we see these indications of the previous existence of timber, we will find that the soil there is the same as it is where the timber is now growing. From these facts may we not conclude that the western prairies had their origin in the same causes which convulsed the south-western part of our continent, and poured out the collected waters of the Valley of the Mississippi?

In accounting for the wearing away of the Falls of Niagara, and the existence of bowlders in the vicinity of Lake Ontario, a writer in Silliman's Journal advances the following views, which, coming through so respectable a channel, are worthy of consideration. He attributes the effects spoken of to the following causes, viz. :—

"The action of that mighty flow of waters from the north, which has swept with indescribable power over our country, and borne on its



wave, or by its momentum, the sand and gravel, and bowlders of primitive rocks, so abundant, and heaped up in such quantity.

"The whole southern shore of Lake Ontario seems to have been greatly convulsed by this vast current of waters, and the strata turn up where they crop out, and their fragments, and the bowlders from the northern regions swept on to the south, where they are scattered for many miles. In the beds of gravel and sand in the vicinity of Rochester, we find fragments of the sand-stone of the lake shore mingled with the fragments of other rocks operating against the out-cropping edges : such a current must produce tremendous results."

Most writers who have written on the subject of the Niagara Falls and the lakes, agree as to the probability of these falls having been many feet higher than they now are ; and, consequently, that the northern lakes had a higher level than they now have. Is it not probable, then, that the northern lakes and the waters which covered the Valley of the Mississippi, mingled together, and that the same causes which convulsed the southern part of the American continent also shook the solid bed of Niagara, and emptied this tremendous sheet of water on the east and on the south at the same time ?

But whatever may or may not have been the grand causes which have left things as we now see them, one thing is beyond a question, and that is, that this great valley is at once the most peculiar, the most varied, fertile, and extensive valley on our globe ; and while its vast resources are developing, and while it is becoming the receptacle of the good, bad, and indifferent of our own country, as well as of the oppressed and adventurous millions beyond the ocean, let the wise and the good see that the pure principles of education and undefiled religion be deeply implanted in the same soil. This will be a guaranty for the perpetuity of our present form of government, and if it shall stand unshaken upon its present foundations for one century more, then will future generations behold the sublime spectacle of a "nation's flag," and the "banner of the cross" planted on the highest peak of the Rocky Mountains, floating over a happy and prosperous people, in the free enjoyment of civil privileges and religious virtues.

*Dixon, Illinois, Dec. 14, 1842.*

ART. V.—*Dissertations on the Prophecies relative to the Second Coming of Christ.* By GEORGE DUFFIELD.

DR. DUFFIELD appears as the first conspicuous champion on this side of the Atlantic, so far as we know, of that modified form of Chiliasm which does not possess in its own absurdities the seeds of its own dissolution, and which, therefore, promises to become a part of the permanent belief of a portion of the American church. Rejecting the fanaticism which presumes to fix the precise period of the second advent, agreeing with the church in the belief of her final triumph and spread through the earth, he still maintains that such triumph will be gained only by the *visible and corporeal presence of Christ on earth*. This doctrine he advocates in three general parts of his book: first, by laying down the basis of what he considers the only literal and sound view of interpretation—next, by maintaining that the purest traditions of the church, both Jewish and Christian, sustain both his basis and the theory he erects upon it—and, finally, that his theory, according with both the laws of a sound interpretation and the unanimous voice of antiquity, is the only possible doctrine of Scripture.

The traditionary argument in favor of Chiliasm forms so large and so boastful a part of Dr. Duffield's book, and is so often a subject of triumphant appeal, that, dismissing for the present the other parts of his work, we shall subject this point alone to a rigid analysis. We wish to bring to a test the assertions, that the modern doctrine of the millennium is but one or two centuries old, and that Dr. Whitby was its author. Before we proceed to the direct analysis, however, it may be well to state how far we agree with Dr. Duffield on the three main topics, namely, the millennium, the final dissolution, and the advent.

I. *The millennium.*—Dr. Duffield maintains that it will be the closing thousand years of the world, antecedent to the final judgment; that the generations of the living and dying nations will still continue in the flesh; and that all will be converted to Christ. Dr. Duffield, therefore, believes in the true millennium.

II. *The dissolution and renovation of the earth.*—Dr. Duffield believes that the millennium will be preceded by great judgments, "by means of volcanic and other fires;" that Christ will "change the geological structure of Jerusalem and its vicinity by a terrible earthquake." During the millennium, the earth will have "undergone such a remarkable transformation, by great geological and atmospheric changes, as to be denominated a new heaven and a

new earth." Without presuming to confirm all the minutiae which Dr. Duffield affirms on these points, we are inclined to believe the truth of his general summary, contained in the last-quoted sentence. But these partial and superficial changes before the millennium by no means amount to that total abolition of the old and substitution of a new sphere which precede the judgment day. Both Peter and John, and indeed the whole New Testament, present a heaven, not as a refitting of the old earth, but as a new state and sphere, substituted for that which has passed away.

III. *The second advent.*—Dr. Duffield's great error, involving in itself all his other errors, is, that he places the second advent at the resurrection of the just, and the glorified kingdom at least one thousand years too early. By inserting the second advent and final dissolution before the conversion of the world, he cuts off the millennium from the present order of things, and renders it a separate dispensation. By prefixing the resurrection of the righteous, he pours into the millennium of pure mortals the myriads of glorified and immortal saints, thus producing a confused comingling in the same sphere of beings of a different character. By placing over all these the visible and corporeal reign of Christ, miraculously producing the conversion of the mortal nations, he violates the true nature of God's moral government, representing him as irresistibly securing conversion and salvation without any real probation.

Such is, we believe, a fair, though brief, view of Dr. Duffield's theory. And at one glance the reader perceives, that if you strike out from his picture of the millennium all the elements properly included in the second advent, it leaves the purely terrene millennium of Dr. Whitby and the church of the present day. Place the advent (including, of course, the resurrection of the righteous) at the end, and not at the beginning of Dr. Duffield's millennium, and you have just the theory of Whitby. The difference between the two doctors, Whitby and Duffield, is not in regard, then, to the true nature of the millennium, but in regard to the true position of the second advent. Scripture must ultimately decide where doctors disagree; but our present appeal is to tradition.

Dr. Duffield professes to present us, first, the testimonies furnished by the uninspired Jewish writers anterior to Christ; and, second, the Christian writers of the purest antiquity. And these he produces, not as in themselves authority, but as proof of the mode in which the immediate cotemporaries and successors of the inspired writers interpreted those sacred documents. With regard to the traditions of the Jews, Dr. Duffield boldly claims to



“carry tradition back to the very days of Daniel and the prophets of the captivity,” and to “trace the stream of tradition through two channels:—1. The Jewish, flowing in the testimony of their Targums, their apocryphal historians, &c., down to Christ. 2. The profane, flowing down through the Gentile nations, in the writings of Zoroaster.” To this we have also two propositions in reply: 1. Dr. Duffield cannot produce any Jewish tradition reaching with any certainty within centuries of Daniel. 2. It would be the destruction of his theory if he could.

Of Dr. Duffield's many very remarkable peculiarities of quoting, we must animadvert now upon two. The first is, that where the *antiquity* of the author quoted is the very decisive point, he lets the question of *date* pass in a very slovenly and cursory manner. The second is, that so self-assured is he that all authorities must be in his own favor, that he spreads out quotations before his own eyes without any apparent perception that they contradict him to the face, and without a word of comment to turn away the point of their contradiction. His first quotation, from *ESDRAS*, is a fine exemplification of both these qualities.

“The writer of the apocryphal book of 2 Esdras, *who was captive in the land of the Medes in the reign of Artaxerxes, king of Persia*—” Where does Dr. Duffield find authority for assigning such antiquity to this very suspicious book? He does not, and we presume he cannot, assign any thing better than the words of the forgery itself. Just as if the oath of an impeached witness, swearing himself honest, should settle the point of his own veracity. Now if Dr. Duffield really believes this book to be thus ancient, he ought to place it on a level with the chief of the prophets; for more than one fact is predicted, with more precision and minuteness, by this than by any other prophetic author. Where have the name of Jesus, his date, or his death been so specifically and numerically predicted as in the following passage?—“For my son Jesus shall be revealed with those that be with him, and they that remain shall rejoice, within four hundred years. And after these years shall my son Christ die; and all men that have life.” Chap. vii, 28, 29. And yet Dr. Duffield must also hold that this illustrious prophet is an arrant impostor. If we may believe Dr. Horne, “he pretends to visions and revelations, but they are so fanciful, indigested, ridiculous, and absurd, that it is clear the Holy Spirit could have no concern in dictating them. He believed that the day of judgment was at hand, and that the souls of good and wicked men would all be delivered out of hell after the day of judgment. Numerous rabbinical fables occur in this book, par-

ticularly the account of the six days' creation, and the story of behemoth and leviathan, two monstrous creatures, that are designed as a feast for the elect after the day of resurrection," &c.

Milman (*History of Christianity*, p. 227) says, "Many of these forged prophetic writings belong to the age of the Antonines, and could not emanate from any quarter but that of the more injudicious and fanatical Christians. The second (apocryphal) book of Esdras is of this character, the work of a Judaizing Christian; it refers distinctly to the reign of the twelve Cesars, and obscurely intimates in many parts the approaching dissolution of the existing order of things." He adds, in a note, "The general character of the work, the nationality of the perpetual allusions to the history and fortunes of the race of Israel betray the Jew; the passages, chap. ii, 42, 48; v, 5; vii, 26, 29, are avowed Christianity."

While Moldenhawer, with other critics, believes, as Milman also agrees, that the author is a Christian Jew of the second century, and Archbishop Lawrence admits that it has been largely interpolated, but that the remnant, after these have been subtracted, may be attributed to some unknown Jew before Christ, Dr. Horne decides, that "the author of the book is unknown. Although he personates Ezra, it is manifest that he lived long after that celebrated Jewish reformer." Such, therefore, is the author who heads Dr. Duffield's cotemporaries with Daniel!

We, however, give it up. In deference to Esdras and Dr. Duffield, we will now concede that the former was about cotemporary with Daniel. We are, then, not certain that any consistent view can be made from his irregular patchwork; but we will venture to maintain that Esdras' doctrine is,—1. That there are two advents; in the first of which Christ will die, and at the second, he will, there having been a universal resurrection, judge mankind. 2. His kingdom will be established, the Gentiles gathered, the Jews restored, and all the elements of a millennium transpire during the dispensation of his first advent.

*First advent.*—"For my son Jesus shall be revealed, &c. After these years shall my son Christ die; and all men that have life. And the world shall be turned into the old silence seven days, like as the first beginning: so that no man shall remain. And after seven days, the world that yet awaketh not, shall be raised up, and that shall die that is corrupt. And the earth shall restore those that are asleep in her, so shall the dust those that dwell in silence, and the secret places shall deliver those souls that were committed unto them." Chap. vii, 28-32.

*Second advent.*—"And the Most High shall appear upon the seat of judgment, and misery shall pass away, and the long-suffering shall have an end, but judgment only shall remain," &c. Chap. vii, 33, 34.

We pretend not to know whether, in the first paragraph of the above extract, the author means that the whole world shall die with Christ after he shall have lived the usual age of man; or whether he should live through the whole long period of his dispensation, and mankind then die with him; or whether it only means that the whole world, as well as Christ, shall finally die, though not at the same time. Certain it is, however, that this passage affirms that the resolution of the world into its original elements, the death of the whole human race for a given interval, and the universal judgment, are all circumstances immediately preceding the second advent.

We are now prepared to present the passage which Dr. Duffield quotes; and we beseech our readers to remark how clearly it proves that the restoration of the Jews is to be one of the events included in the present or first-advent dispensation:—

"This is the meaning of the vision: Whereas thou sawest a man coming up from the midst of the sea: the same is he whom God the highest hath kept a great season, which by his own self shall deliver his creature: *and he shall order them that are left behind.* And whereas thou sawest that out of his mouth there came as a blast of wind, and fire, and storm, and that he held neither sword nor any instrument of war, but that the rushing in of him destroyed the whole multitude that came to subdue him; this is the interpretation:

"Behold, the days come, when the Most High will begin to deliver them that are upon the earth. And he shall come to the astonishment of them that dwell on the earth. And one shall undertake to fight against another, one city against another, one place against another, one people against another, and one realm against another. And the time shall be when these things shall come to pass, and the signs shall happen which I showed thee before, and then shall my Son be declared, whom thou sawest as a man *ascending.* And when all the people hear his voice, every man shall in their own land leave the battle they have one against another. And an innumerable multitude shall be gathered together, as thou sawest them, willing to come and to overcome him by fighting. But he shall stand upon the top of the mount Sion. And Sion shall come, and shall be showed to all men, being prepared and builded, like as thou sawest the hill graven without hands. And this my Son shall rebuke the wicked inventions of those nations, which for their wicked life are fallen into the tempest; and shall lay before them their evil thoughts, and the torments wherewith they shall begin to be tormented, which are like unto a flame: and



he shall destroy them without labor *by the law* which is like unto fire.

"And whereas thou sawest that he gathered another peaceable multitude unto him; those are the ten tribes which were carried away prisoners out of their own land in the time of Osea the king, whom Salmanaser the king of Assyria led away captive, and he carried them over the waters, and so came they into another land. But they took this counsel among themselves, that they would leave the multitude of the heathen, and go forth into a further country, where never mankind dwelt, that they might there keep their statutes, which they never kept in their own land. And they entered into Euphrates by the narrow passages of the river. For the Most High then showed signs for them, and held still the flood, till they were passed over. For through that country there was a great way to go, namely, of a year and a half: and the same region is called Arsareth.

"Then dwelt they there until the latter time; and now *when they shall begin to come*, the Highest shall *stay the springs of the stream again*, that they may go through: therefore sawest thou the multitude with peace. But those that be left behind of thy people, are they that are found within my borders. Now when he destroyed the multitude of the nations that are gathered together, he shall defend his people that remain. And then he shall show them great wonders." 2 Esdras xiii, 25-50.

That the events above described are the concomitants of the first advent, is plain from the following, among other considerations:—1. First, it was the unanimous doctrine of the whole Jewish body that all the circumstances of the millennium should take place at Christ's first coming. At his first coming should he establish his kingdom, gather the scattered Israelites, and extend the sway of righteousness over the whole earth, for the sacred period of a thousand years. When Dr. Duffield quotes this as affirming that these events shall succeed his second, and not his first coming, he acts not only without, but against, all probability. 2. This description of the coming of Christ is evidently a fuller development of the appearance of the Lion of the eleventh and twelfth chapters, who is expressly explained to be Christ, appearing during the fullest power of the Roman eagle; just as in Daniel, the mountain stone *strikes*, while the metallic image is still standing in strength. It must, therefore, designate his first advent. 3. By the extract which we have above made from the seventh chapter of 2 Esdras, it will be seen that the death "of all men that have life," and a period of silent chaos, precede the judgment advent. But it is plain that no such events precede the advent here described. On the contrary, his dominion should be over the still living men;

"he shall order them *that are left behind*," that is, the living survivors, in contradistinction to those who are dead.\* And, accordingly, it is the still living generations of the ten tribes who are, like the Israelites from Egypt, led over every obstacle to the Holy Land.

Equally clear is it, that the call of the Gentiles, described in the second chapter, (we omit the passage from necessary brevity,) taking place in that kingdom, which was to be established at the "end" of the Jewish *αιων* "world," belongs to the present dispensation in which we live, in which the millennium, according to the Jews, was to be included, the dispensation, namely, of the first advent. We may therefore conclude that, so far as Esdras is concerned, Dr. Duffield has not traced the traditionary stream quite up to Daniel; and if Esdras be a cotemporary of the prophets, his is precisely the millennium of Dr. Whitby and of the general church of our day.

"The book of *TOBIT*," says Dr. Duffield, "according to Dr. Gray and other critics, was written in Chaldaic, during, or soon after, the captivity." And this is the whole of his dissertation to authenticate the antiquity of his second authority, which is to carry us back to the times of Daniel! In reply, we may merely say, that Horne declares that, "concerning the author of the book of *Tobit*, or the time when he flourished, we have *no authentic information*. Moldenhawer is disposed to refer it to *the end of the first century*; but Jahn, and other critics and commentators, think it was written about one hundred and fifty or two hundred years before the birth of our Saviour," which would bring it about three hundred years after the time of Daniel.

Be *Tobit*, however, cotemporary with Daniel, his authority is all the more fatal to Dr. Duffield.

"Go into Media, my son, for I surely believe those things which Jonas the prophet spake of Nineveh, that it shall be overthrown, and that, for a time, peace shall rather be in Media; and that our brethren shall lie scattered in the earth from that good land; and Jerusalem shall be desolate, and the house of God in it shall be burned, and shall be desolate for a time. And that again, God will have mercy on them and bring them again into the land, where they shall build a temple,

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\* That the phrase, "them that are left behind," designates those generations that are still living, in distinction from those who have died, is proved by many passages in 2 Esdras. Chap. xiii, 18, "Now understand I the things that are laid up in the latter days, which shall happen unto them; and to those that are left behind." Verse 24, "They which be left behind are more blessed than they that be dead."

but not like to the first, until the time of that age be fulfilled; and afterward they shall return from all places of their captivity, and build up Jerusalem gloriously; and the house of God shall be built in it for ever with a glorious building, as the prophets have spoken thereof. And ALL NATIONS *shall turn and fear the Lord God truly*; and shall *bury their idols*! So shall ALL NATIONS *praise the Lord*; and his people shall confess God. And all those which love the Lord in truth and justice shall rejoice, *showing MERCY to our brethren.*"

Here are a first and a second temple, then a final restoration, and a glorious building of the house of God in the latter days. And this is attended with a millennial conversion of the world! "All nations" "turn and fear the Lord truly," and "show mercy" to the Israelites. And all this in the natural train of providential events, preceded by no dissolution of the world or resurrection of the dead. If "all nations" turn from their idols, then all nations are still in the flesh. Were there no other document, this passage alone would prove, that so far from having Dr. Whitby for its author, the modern doctrine of the millennium, if Dr. Duffield date Tobit correctly, *is far older than the Christian era!*

For the antiquity of the book of WISDOM, Dr. Duffield quotes only the opinion of Grotius, a commentator, for the soundness of whose opinions, as such, we believe Dr. Duffield has little confidence, and whose opinion on this subject, poorly as it sustains Dr. Duffield's high pretensions, stands, perhaps, alone. Grotius places the author of Wisdom somewhere between Ezra and Simon the Just; which, at best, is rather too vague, and rather too late for a cotemporary of Daniel. Critics have, however, decisively shown from the use of such words as *στεφανηφορειν*, *πομπενειν*, *αγων*, *αθλον*, that the book is of Greek origin. Jerome, and many of the early Christian writers, attributed it to Philo Judæus, a part of whose life was cotemporary with that of our Saviour. Modern critics, such as Lowth, Horne, and Milman, agree that its Platonic tinge clearly proves it a production of the school of Alexandrian Jews. From this modern and Hellenistic writer, Dr. Duffield quotes only the following sentence, in which he understands the author as speaking of the righteous dead:—"In the time of their visitation, they shall shine and run to and fro like sparks among the stubble; they shall judge the nations, and have dominion over the people," Wisdom iii, 7, 8. Now although the first four verses speak of the souls and the deaths of the righteous, the best commentators do not so understand the subsequent verses. The heading of the chapter, for instance, in our quarto Bibles is as follows:—"1. The godly are happy in their death, 5. and in their



troubles." Milman quotes this very passage as an instance in which this book contains the doctrines of Philo, (which we shall soon explain,) in regard to the future ascendancy of the living righteous over the nations of this world. This is confirmed by a subsequent passage, where the author, personating the man who has married Wisdom, says,—“I shall set the people in order, and the nations shall be subject unto me; horrible tyrants shall be afraid when they hear my name,” &c.

Dr. Duffield's quotations from the Targums (which were written but thirty years before Christ) are confessedly “general statements,” making more against than for his own views. “Christ shall come, whose is the kingdom, and him shall the nations serve.—The King, Christ, shall come, whose is the kingdom, and all the nations shall be subject unto him.” These quotations complete the demonstration, under the very eye of Dr. Duffield, that it was the unanimous doctrine of the whole Jewish church, that *the kingdom of Christ, which should take in all the nations, should be established, and triumphant at his first coming.* These great events, therefore, are a part of the present dispensation, and must be completed before his second coming.

We have thus gone through with all the quotations from Jewish writers, for which our author claims any high antiquity, and trust we have redeemed our pledge to prove that, 1. Dr. Duffield cannot trace the stream of Jewish antiquity to any point near the times of Daniel and the captivity. 2. His authorities, if thus ancient, are fatal to his own theory. According to those authorities, Christ's kingdom is to be established, mankind are to be morally regenerated, the Jews are to be restored, and the nations gathered into the kingdom of Christ, and all these are to be included *within the dispensation of his FIRST coming.*

But our readers may ask if this be not our “private interpretation” merely. Is it possible that Dr. Duffield can produce, almost without a comment, extracts like the above, as if they were, *of course*, the very *fac simile* of his own views? Must he not be conscious of being sustained by the unanimous opinion of the learned, in giving a *sense* so contradictory to the *letter* of his quotations? In reply we shall give an extract from Milman, and if the passage from Tobit (a writer, as Dr. Duffield will have it, of the time, and using the language of the captivity) proves that not all, even of the Eastern Jews, held to a dissolution and resurrection previous to the millennium, Milman may give us a view of the doctrines upon these points of the Western Jews, who had never been completely imbued with Oriental influences:—

“ We pass from the rich impersonations, the fantastic, but expressive symbolic forms of the East, to the colder and clearer light of Grecian philosophy, with which the Western Jews, especially in Alexandria, had endeavored to associate their own religious truths.—The Alexandrian notions of the days of the Messiah are faintly shadowed out in the book ‘of the Wisdom of Solomon,’ in terms which occasionally remind us of some which occur in the New Testament. The righteous Jews, on account of their acknowledged moral and religious superiority, were to ‘judge all nations,’ and ‘have dominion over all people.’ But the more perfect development of these views is to be found in the works of Philo. This writer, who, however inclined to soar into the cloudy realms of mysticism, often rests in the middle regions of the moral sublime, and abounds in passages which would scarcely do discredit to his Athenian master, had arrayed a splendid vision of the perfectibility of human nature, in which his own nation was to take the most distinguished part. *From them, knowledge and virtue were to emanate through the universal race of man.* THE WHOLE WORLD, convinced at length of the moral superiority of the Mosaic institutes, interpreted, it is true, upon the allegorical system, and so harmonized with the sublimest Platonism of the Greeks, *was to submit in voluntary homage, and render their allegiance to the great religious teachers and examples of mankind.* The Jews themselves, thus suddenly regenerated to more than the primitive purity and loftiness of their law, (in which the divine reason, the Logos, was, as it were, imbodied,) were to gather together from all quarters, and under the guidance of a more than human being, unseen to all eyes but those of the favored nation, (such was the only vestige of the Messiah,) to re-assemble in their native land. There the great era of virtue, and peace, and abundance, productiveness of the soil, prolificness in the people, in short, of all the blessings pronounced in the book of Deuteronomy, was to commence and endure for ever.”—*Hist. of Christianity*, chap. ii.

We may conclude this part of our subject by remarking, that to the Græco-Judaic school of Jews are attributed most of the books of the Apocrypha, those indeed from which Dr. Duffield has made his quotations; that by them was the Septuagint, the version commonly used by our Lord and his apostles, translated; and that the intercommunity between both classes of Jews in the time of early Christianity was abundant. The doctrine of the final moral regeneration of the world was therefore by no means, anciently, an unknown tenet, at least to the Western Jews \*

\* Plentiful specimens of the coincidences between Philo and St. John are produced by Dr. Clarke on John i. These are certainly too striking to admit a doubt of some sort of community between the minds of the two writers. If we may suppose that St. John appropriated the term Logos, as well known to his cotemporaries, to a Christian use, if he spent his latter days at the Greek city of Ephesus, and wrote his Apocalypse upon the Greek isle of Patmos,

Dr. Duffield "having" (in his own estimation) "traced the chain of tradition from the days of Daniel down through the Jewish church," proceeds next to trace the same chain, from the same point, through a Gentile medium. First, he considers it a settled point, that the Persian Zoroaster was a "servant of the prophet Daniel;" he next adduces from "*his Zend Avesta*" certain extracts, which he has found quoted in the Christology of Dr. Hengstenberg.

Into the very obscure question, how far the Jewish dogmas, and even the sacred writings themselves, have been tinged with colorings borrowed from Oriental sources, had we the limits, we should not have the boldness to enter. The idea, however, that any part of the Zoroastrian system was borrowed from the prophets, especially so late as the prophet Daniel, has many formidable difficulties in point of fact, and able opponents in point of learning, to overcome. Notwithstanding the support of Dr. Prideaux, and the unhesitating assumption of Dr. Duffield, it is opposed by such authorities as Moyle, Gibbon, Heeren, Dr. Hales, Milman, Tholuck, and Hengstenberg. Gibbon, whom perhaps we, as well as Dr. Duffield, may be allowed to quote, says,—"*Hyde and Prideaux, working up the Persian legends and their own conjectures into a very agreeable story, represent Zoroaster as a cotemporary of Darius Hystaspes. But it is sufficient to observe, that the Greek writers who lived almost in the age of Darius, agree in placing the era of Zoroaster many hundred or even thousand years before their own time.*" Milman remarks,—"*In fact, there is such an originality and completeness in the Zoroastrian system; and in its leading principles it departs so widely from the ancient and simple theism of the Jews, as clearly to indicate an independent and peculiar source, at least in its more perfect development.*"

It is most unfortunate, therefore, at first start, that the Jewish origin of Dr. Duffield's quotations from Zoroaster's *Zend Avesta* (if it be his) is more than questionable.

But admitting, for the present moment, their Jewish origin, these we cannot doubt that he was acquainted both with the phraseology and doctrines of the Græco-Judaic school. He could not, therefore, be ignorant of their view of the ultimate moral regeneration of the world. Nor can we persuade ourselves to suppress the suggestion, that in Rev. xx he takes the Judaic round period of a thousand years, places it before the resurrection, and uses the word *souls* of the martyrs to indicate their spiritual reign. It would be equivalent to saying,—You Jews hold the millennium to occupy the entire Messianic dispensation, that it is *after* the resurrection, and of the *body*. I tell you it closes that dispensation, is before the resurrection, and is the reign of glorified martyred *souls* over the yet living nations of the world.



extracts, not as Dr. Duffield, but as Hengstenberg quotes them, afford but slight support to our author's theory. In Dr. Hengstenberg's first extract (which Dr. Duffield does not give) is described the coming, in the latter days, of two illustrious persons, by whom is effected the conversion of the world. If we suppose the latter of these two persons to be our Saviour, and the former his illustrious harbinger, the Elias of prophecy, the Baptist of the Gospels, the coincidence indeed seems almost prophetic:—"Zoroaster relates, in the book of Zend Avesta, that in the last time a man shall appear, named Oschanderbega, that is, Man of the world. He will adorn the world with religion and righteousness. During his time, Peetiarch also will appear, and greatly injure the interests of his kingdom for twenty years. Afterward Osiderbega will manifest himself to the inhabitants of the world, promote righteousness, destroy iniquity, and restore the ancient order of things. Kings shall obey him, and all his undertakings shall prosper. He will give the victory to true religion. In his times, rest and peace shall prevail, all dissensions cease, and all grievances be done away." It will be seen that this extract sustains the view that the millennium will belong to the first advent of the Redeemer.

Two other extracts there are from the Zend Avesta, which mention three great deliverers. The first extract reads thus:—

"Oschederbami and Oschedermah first appear with great and supernatural powers, and effect the conversion of a large portion of mankind. At last Sosiosch, the greatest of the three, makes his appearance. Under him follows the resurrection. He will judge the quick and dead, give new glory to the earth, and remove from a world of sorrows the germ of evil."—*Zendav. Vendidad*, 19, ii, 375.

It is not here said that a reformation of mankind succeeds the advent of Sosiosch; on the contrary, whatever of conversion there is, is the result of the previous advents. Under Sosiosch take place the resurrection, geological renovation, and judgment; of which a more explicit account is given in the second extract:—

"All the dead, as they had died, great or small, shall drink thereof, (of Sosiosch's liquor,) and *live again*. And, finally, at the command of the righteous Judge, Ormuzd, Sosiosch will, from an elevated place, render all men what their deeds deserve. The dwelling place of the pure will be the splendid Gorottman. Ormuzd himself will take their bodies to his presence on high."

We will not positively affirm that our understanding of these two extracts is absolutely certain; nor have we at hand the means either of verifying or correcting it; nor indeed does the fact either

way ultimately much affect our argument; but our construction seems at least as plausible as Dr. Duffield's. In the first of the two, *the* resurrection, renovation of the earth, and final judgment, are said to take place at the advent of Sosiosch; in the second, it is said, that at *that* resurrection and judgment of the whole human race, they will be translated to a region of exalted bliss; but in neither do we very clearly find any millennial personal reign of Sosiosch mentioned, intervening upon the renewed earth between the advent, and the final judgment and reward. Until such a mention is found, Zoroaster is rather an opponent than an advocate of Dr. Duffield.

Most unfortunate, perhaps, of all Dr. Duffield's efforts at quotation, is that in which he represents Dr. Hengstenberg as maintaining the derivation of Zoroastrianism from the Jewish prophets. Hengstenberg *says* that the above extracts, and some others, indicate a superhuman origin; and Dr. Duffield affirms that he *means* that they were stolen from the Jews. Says Hengstenberg,—“If we leave out of view the division among three persons of that which belongs only to one, analogous to which is the notion of two Messiahs among the later Jews and Samaritans, we shall not fail to perceive the coincidence of this expectation with the prophecies of the Old Testament and the fulfillment, and shall not be disposed to *ascribe it to any mere human origin.*” To this Dr. Duffield subjoins, in language rather bluff,—“He *means* that it is the truths of revelation which Zoroaster, that successful impostor, *stole* from the Jewish prophets, adulterated and worked up in his own splendid and artful imposition of a false religion.” Now, if Hengstenberg meant this, it is a pity that in the very pages from which the above extracts were made, he should have said precisely the reverse; and if Dr. Duffield really supposed such to be his *meaning*, it is a pity that he could not find a quotation where such was his *language*.

Hengstenberg, in the introduction to his Christology, after having reviewed God's preparation, by revelation and prophecy, of the Jewish nation for the coming of the Messiah, next proceeds to give a view of the expectations of such a redemption among the heathen nations. With regard to the Persians and Greeks, he maintains that those expectations found to exist among them were produced by “*original revelation,*” whereas, on the contrary, among the Romans, the similar ideas were derived *from the Jews*. After stating, (p. 13,) that immediately after the fall, “God was pleased to make known that great salvation from the consequences of the first transgression, which should be accomplished in future times,”

he adds, (p. 14,) "The knowledge of this *original revelation* is not entirely lost, even among heathen nations." After admitting that this idea was pushed by many to extremes, he still claims that "much, however, remains of so definite a character, that in all probability it was derived from an *ancient revelation*," &c. "This is particularly the case with the doctrines of the Persians on this subject," &c. Hengstenberg then proceeds to spread over several pages (14-16) the proofs, that the great oracle of the Persians, Zoroaster, and his followers, abounded with anticipations of a future redemption. Among these are the passages which Dr. Duffield extracts; and finally comes that sentence, which terminates with a repetition of the idea, that these expectations probably originated from the aforesaid divine source. When Hengstenberg arrives, however, at the Romans, he decides (pp. 17, 18) that, "upon a close examination, it becomes exceedingly doubtful whether *they were derived from an ORIGINAL revelation*;" and he adds, "*The JEWISH ORIGIN of these ideas is obvious*." So clear is it that Hengstenberg does not style Zoroaster a "successful impostor," nor "mean" that he "*stole from the Jewish prophets*." We may safely conclude, therefore, that even admitting that Zoroastrianism taught the doctrines of the Chiliasts, it cannot be regarded as a cotemporary commentary upon the Jewish prophets, but must be considered as a dim and distorted refraction of a ray of revelation glimmering through the darkness of ages.

Having traced the doctrines, as presented in the passages from the Apocrypha, more particularly of the Western Jews, and shown how decisive is their testimony in favor of a terrene millennium, we are now prepared to discuss the dogmas of those Jews of the captivity, who were more exposed to the influence of Oriental religious views. And here we find at once revealed to our view both the full Jewish belief of those notions which lie at the foundation of Dr. Duffield's pre-millennial advent, and the full proof that, so far from having been exported from Judaism into Orientalism, those dogmas are of Persian, and not of Jewish or prophetic origin. Their view may be briefly stated of the events which should attend the Messiah's first coming and dispensation. The Christian dispensation, (that in which we are now living,) according to the Eastern Jews, would be the last thousand years of the world, the sabbath of the great mundane week; it would be preceded by the renovation and righteous resurrection, attended with the extermination of the Gentile nations, and closed with the final consummation and eternal state. Such being the Perso-Judaic theory of notions, we may justly and seriously ask of Dr. Duffield,



and of any other Chiliast, What are such palpable "fables of Jewish dotage," so fundamentally contradicted by the whole structure of facts which make up the Christian history and system, worth, either for or against any Christian doctrine or interpretation? The very first and fundamental fact, that the kingdom of Christ is to be established at his first coming, Dr. Duffield is obliged to contradict; the Messiah's dispensation was to be but one thousand years, being filled with the millennium proper, and this he must contradict; the resurrection of all the just was to have taken place at Christ's first coming, and this he must contradict; the dissolution of the world was to take place, not in 1843, but just 1843 years ago, and this he must contradict; and thus, after Dr. Duffield has impeached his own witness until he is fairly riddled and rent to very tatters, with what conscience can he patch up the remnant of rags, and present that effigy as a witness worthy a moment's notice?

But it is truly remarkable, that the very remnant which speaks most favorably for Dr. Duffield's pre-millennial advent, is just that part which is most clearly traceable to a Gentile source. The notion that *the final thousand years of the world are to be preceded by the renovation and righteous resurrection*, wrenched from its associate accompaniments, is the supposed stronghold in tradition of Chiliasm. And this doctrine is one of the most palpable plagiarisms of Rabbiniism from Zoroastrianism. To prove this, we shall select an authority unquestionable in point of erudition, namely, Dr. Hales' celebrated Analysis of Chronology, and still more unexceptionable in point of candor, for Dr. Hales is himself a thorough-going Chiliast. His dissertation upon Persian Mythology may be found, in his fourth volume, (pp. 29-33,) from which we make the following extract:—

"The fabulous ages of Asiatic mythology stretch far beyond the creation of man. The world is supposed to have been repeatedly peopled by creatures of different formation; who were successively annihilated, or banished for disobedience to the Supreme Being. An Eastern romance, entitled Caherman Name, or 'Caherman's History,' introduces that hero in conversation with the monstrous bird or griffin, Simurgh, who tells him that she had already lived to see the earth seven times filled with creatures, and seven times reduced to a perfect void. That *the age of Adam would last seven thousand years*; when the present race of men would be extinguished, and their place supplied by creatures of another form and more perfect nature, with whom the world would end. She declared she had seen twelve periods, *each of seven thousand years*; but was denied the knowledge of the term of her own existence. And Sadi, a Persian moralist of the first

class, praises Providence for providing so bountifully for all his creatures, that even the Simurgh, notwithstanding her immense size, finds on the mountains of Kaf sufficient for her subsistence."

"In this Persian tale we trace the Jewish legend of the seven millenary ages of the world;\* the Babylonian and Cumean Sybils' ages of the world and restoration of the golden age, recorded in Hesiod, Virgil, and Ovid; and the several Hindoo Avatars, or successive transformations of Vishnou, in the Asiatic researches."

After giving an account of their stupendous system of romantic beings, Dr. Hales adds,—

"These peris and dives, the friends and foes of mankind, and all the machinery of their conflicts, seem to have furnished the groundwork of the prevalent notion of good and bad demons, of gods and giants, that pervade the whole of Eastern and Western romance. We find them in Jewish, Indian, Grecian, and Roman mythology. The apocryphal book of Tobit, written during or after the Babylonish captivity, introduces Raphael, the guardian of Tobias, the wicked spirit, Asmodeus, who was fond of Sarah, and destroyed her seven husbands on the wedding nights," &c.

From the Sadder, another work attributed, though, of course, with little certainty, to Zoroaster himself, Dr. Hales makes the following extract:—

"In our (Magian) religion it is held for certain that God spake thus to Zoroaster: 'I created thee in the middle of the world's course; namely, from the age of Keiomaras to thine age are three thousand years; and from thine to the resurrection, three thousand years more.'"

Now when we consider the primitive character of this legend of the great week of seven millennial ages; when we find it deeply

\* Midrash Tillin on Psa. xc, 15,—“How many are the days of the Messiah? Rab. Eliezer, the son of R. Jose, of Galilee, said, The days of the Messiah are a thousand years.” Sanhedrin, fol. 92, 1, edited by Aruch, says,—“There is a tradition of the house of Elias, that the righteous, whom the blessed God shall raise, shall not return to the dust again but for the space of a thousand years, in which the blessed God shall renew the world,” &c.—*Dr. Clarke on Rev. xx.*

Said Rabbi KETINA,—“Six thousand years stands the world, and for one thousand years it shall be desolated; concerning which it is said, ‘And the Lord shall be exalted in that day.’”—*Mede.*

“It was a commonly received notion that the world was to last in its present state six thousand years, and in the seventh should be renewed.”—*Dr. Duffield.*

To prove the foreign origin of this idea, it is only necessary to mention that it is a perfectly isolated notion, of which the Old Testament writers and the inspired age are perfectly clear, no way interlaced with their system, but floating in the later *post captivitatem* traditions.

imbedded in this stupendous and original fountain of mythical tradition, from which nearly all nations have drawn; when we find it wholly unrecognized, *as if unknown by the inspired Old Testament writers*, and only floating among the reveries of rabbinical dreamers; and when we find it wholly a stranger to the literature and theology of the Western Græco-Judaic school, we cannot but feel that Rabbi Ketina's great mundane week was really appropriated from the big bird Simurgh.\*

We have now done with Dr. Duffield's traditionary testimony, drawn from both Jews and Gentiles anterior to our Saviour. All that is genuinely Jewish sustains the doctrine that mankind in the latter generations of the world will be converted to the truth; all that asserts that the resurrection and dissolution of the world will precede that state of things, is traceable to a foreign, a spurious, a fabulous source. The naked testimony of pure Judaism, so far as it can be ascertained, is in favor of the modern doctrine of the millennium antecedent to the judgment advent.

We now make the transition from the uninspired writers of the old dispensation to those of the new; and here, at first sight, it may seem that the state of the argument is very materially changed. Orientalism, imbibed from the system of Zoroaster and the Magians, imported by the return from the captivity, and imbodyed in the popular Judaism of the day, is naturally bequeathed as a traditional inheritance to Christianity, and the consequence is, that we do find Chiliasm of the most unequivocal character displayed in the uninspired Christian writers of the earliest antiquity. It is in this fact that Chiliasm and Dr. Duffield rejoice. Our purpose is to prove, 1. That the importance attributed by Dr. Duffield to these passages is factitious and self-contradictory; 2. That the sentiments they contain is traceable to a spurious source; and, 3. That they are the doctrinal result of *THE great blunder*, demonstrably, of primitive Christianity, and were never of universal prevalence in the church.

Passages from the early fathers are to be quoted only as cotemporary expositions of the inspired New Testament writers. Such

\* Learned as Dr. Hales is, he has no objection now and then to avail himself of a subtil fancy to sustain a theory; and millennarian as he is, he would doubtless have been glad to avail himself of the legend of the great week in favor of Chiliasm. Two obstacles prevented: the legend was found buried in such a mass of fable that its imaginative character could not be denied; and his whole system of chronology falsified the legend. Unluckily for the followers of the rabbi and his bird, Dr. Hales makes the world already more than seven thousand years old.



is the limitation which Dr. Duffield theoretically lays down for his use of these writers; and yet the broad principle upon which he actually uses them far exceeds this good Protestant rule. To these writers does Dr. Duffield apply the maxim of Tertullian, whether upon a point of doctrine or of prophecy,—“*Whatever is first is true, whatever is later is adulterate.*” Truth, then, is to be indubitably sought and found in the Christian fathers; and the only test is ANTIQUITY. If this is not adopting an extra-scriptural rule of faith, we know not how such a charge can be sustained against the Papacy itself. It matters not to Dr. Duffield how perfectly unknown to Scripture the tenet may be; he cannot permit us to pause one moment to show whence the adulterate dogma may have been derived; it is of no consequence to show that even in the apostolic days the times and the church were rife with floating errors, pouring in upon the church from every point of the compass, requiring every effort of apostolic pens and tongues to repel them, and liable to creep into any uninspired documents; the rule is peremptory and absolute,—“*whatever in tradition is first is true, whatever is later is adulterate.*”

Granting, however, the applicability of the rule to *doctrines*, the reverse rule is applicable to *prophecy*. Were *antiquity the true test of doctrines*, it is equally true, at least, that TIME IS THE GREAT EXPOSITOR OF PROPHECY. Dr. Duffield himself in effect admits the truth of this distinction, although at so great a distance in his volume, that he seems scarcely to have brought the two principles into their modifying bearings upon each other. He does explain the direction to Daniel to “seal up the book to the time of the end,” as referring “to the obscurity which should hang around the page of prophecy, like that of a seal or unopened book. It should not be removed till the time of the end—the season of its accomplishment, but that many would investigate the truth, and knowledge would be increased.”—P. 373. And yet Dr. Duffield roundly reproves Faber because he neglected to “apply to the important themes of prophecy,” as well as doctrines, the rule that “*whatever is first is true, whatever is later is adulterate.*” But how will these different views of Dr. Duffield accord with each other? Or rather, how will he extricate himself from a direct self-contradiction? Which side of the contradiction is true in regard to the increasing evidence of prophecy, let those who know how prophetic interpretation has enlarged within the last two centuries decide.

The very first century had its peculiar liabilities to error as strongly as any subsequent age. If the Christianity of the second

century was exposed to the contagion of Platonism, that of the first was all but wholly impregnated with Judaism in its impurest form—rabbiniism. The very first schism, among the apostles themselves, was a contest between Judaism and Christianity. And where, as in the case before us, perhaps, a rabbinical element is detected, historically traceable to a foreign and spurious source, the antiquity of the man is rather a proof against than in favor of his authority, as it shows him belonging to the very period, and surrounded by the very atmosphere of that very error. In process of time the unscriptural error would grow obsolete, especially as men were habituated to expurgate from their beliefs every thing not found in the Scriptures.

Our line of argument, next, therefore, is to show that early Chiliasm is but rabbinical, or, rather, Babylonian Judaism, transferred into the Christian church. If we compare together the great week of the Persian Simurgh, the Zoroastrian six thousand years, terminating with the resurrection, of the Sadder, (and perhaps the final renovation under Sosiosch of the Zend Avesta,) with the great week of Rabbi Ketina and other Jewish doctors, and with the prevalent Judaic idea that the Messianic dispensation was to be the closing thousand years of this world's history, preceded by the resurrection and renovation, no reasonable doubt can exist of their historical affinity, or rather, identity. And this was the prevalent form of Judaism in the time of our Saviour. The New Testament abounds with proofs, that the doctrine which required that the Messiah, having appeared in the clouds, should establish his glorified kingdom, and rule for the last great mundane period over the renovated world, cleared of the slaughtered nations, was the prevalent doctrine of Palestine. When the humble appearance and death of Christ had disappointed that expectation in the breasts of thousands predisposed to be his followers, the next demand would be, that his speedy second advent should, even in their own day, (for prophecy and public expectation had designated that as the destined period,) establish the true Messianic dispensation and kingdom—the glorified resurrection millennium. Thousands would enter the Christian church with such expectations palpitating in their hearts; and thus the Judaism of the day, imported in its great outlines from the East, transferred into Christianity, became Chiliasm.

A striking exemplification of this fact is presented in the very first Christian document adduced by Dr. Duffield, which passes under the name of Barnabas, though many writers (like Richard Watson) dissent; “that it is not the production of the companion

of Paul may be safely concluded from internal evidence, though it may have been written by some other person of the same name." In the extract from this document, the reader will at once behold the artificial process by which a foreign notion is first superimposed upon the Old Testament system, and then imported, without a pretence of New Testament authority, into the Christian circle of tenets:—"Consider, my children, what that signifies: 'He finished them in six days.' The meaning is this: that in six thousand years the Lord will bring all things to an end; for with him one day is a thousand years, as himself testifieth, saying, 'Behold this day shall be as a thousand years;' therefore, children, in six days (that is, six thousand years) shall all things be accomplished. And what is that he saith, 'He rested the seventh day?' He meaneth, that when his Son shall come and abolish the wicked one, and judge the ungodly, and change the sun, and moon, and stars, then he shall gloriously rest on the seventh day. Behold, he will then truly sanctify it with blessed rest, when we have received *the righteous promise*—when iniquity shall be no more, *all things being renewed* by the Lord."

Irenæus also says, "The Lord will come from heaven with clouds, \* \* \* he will introduce the times of his righteous reign, that is, *the rest, the seventh day sanctified.*"

Surely no stronger testimony than these extracts furnish can be needed to prove the identity of Christian Chiliasm with the Magian and rabbinical great mundane week. And but a very few words are necessary to identify both these notions with that great blunder, we may say THE GREAT BLUNDER of the primitive church, the dogma that the second advent was to take place in their own day.

The *great blunder*, then, we repeat, which prevailed but too extensively in the church of the second century, and which, without their excuse, Dr. Duffield is, in effect, attempting to revive, was this,—that *the coming of Christ to dissolve the world was to take place in their own day.* We do not think that Gibbon is correct in considering this error as in any way founded upon the twenty-fourth chapter of Matthew, nor upon any other part of the New Testament. It took its origin, as the extract from Barnabas shows, from the Judaic notion, that the commencement of the great closing sabbatic thousand years, to be ushered in with a renovation of the world and the resurrection, and forming the Messianic dispensation, was prophetically and chronologically at hand. And how stupendous, in point of fact, was this error! What a blank did it make of future prophecy! It annihilated about the whole Christian dispensation. The Apocalypse, which is now viewed as



a map of events, of, at any rate, near two thousand years of terrene Christian history, was to them a scribble of senseless reveries. Placing the second advent in their own day did, in the same act, prove their utter ignorance of the great page of prophetic events before them, and cut off the millennium from the train of terrene things, and drift it off into the regions of spiritual romance. It proved, at once, that on whatever other point of prophecy or doctrine their antiquity proved them infallibly "*right*," in regard to the real great final mundane events they were "*adulterate*." If arbiters of all other truths, upon these points—the very points upon which Dr. Duffield lucklessly quotes them—they are, by demonstration, as worthless as the sheerest self-convicted ignorance can make them.

And this same placing the second advent in their own day, which theoretically annihilated the present Christian dispensation, so reacted upon the prophecies of the Old Testament as to confirm the Chiliastic traditional error. Although in an age when copies of the Old Testament were necessarily scarce, and Christians were more engaged in practical action than in rounding out complete doctrinal or exegetical systems, many would not bring their doctrine of an immediate advent to bear upon the prophetic promises of a regenerated earth, yet, in most cases, where this was done, Chiliasm would be the result. The belief in an immediate advent did not necessarily imply a belief in Chiliasm, but the latter would frequently be produced by the former. The rich pictures of an evangelized world yet future, glowing upon the pages of Isaiah in all the hue and exuberance of raptured poetry, when severed by the advent from the terrene course of events, would be located by the imagination in the celestial state. The very passage of the great prophet which Philo quotes to describe the happy state of the converted nations, is appropriated by Justin Martyr to depict the realm of the resurrection. By consequence, that glorious realm was conceptually filled with animal and physical images of husbandry, procreation, sin, and death. It is useless to say, that these were not the universal results; they were the logical and strictly necessary results. Their millennium, filled with these images, yet placed in the heavenly state, was necessarily, while in a celestial locality, grossly terrene in its whole substance and nature. And as the expansion of centuries, by gradually removing the second advent to an unknown distance, took away the chasm which cleft that glorious future from the present world; so the gross imageries, with which Chiliasm filled the heavenly state, so revolted the spiritual taste of the church, that both causes combined, with the

absence of any support in Scripture, to mark out this offspring of spurious tradition, even in an age governed by tradition, for abscission from the faith of the Christian church. And it may be added, that in an age like the present, when doctrinal tradition is fast shriveling into scribbled parchment, and leaving the Bible in unrivaled authority, and when all the developments of Providence are pointing to a new era in human history of universal civilization and Christianity, the faith of the church is little likely to return to the great week of Zoroaster, the great sabbath of Barnabas, or the great blunder of early Christianity.

And it is remarkable, that while several of the fathers whom Dr. Duffield quotes were evident Chiliasts, yet a majority of his quotations either say nothing to the point, or merely avow a belief in an immediate advent. Clement of Rome, the "fellow-laborer" of Paul, did "hourly expect the kingdom of God;" Ignatius, successor of Peter at Antioch, bids his brethren "*expect Him who is above time*;" the very relatives of our Saviour had such an expectation of the immediate kingdom of heaven, that the emperor Domitian summoned them to an account, no later than the very persecution in which the apostle John, with whom the mother of Christ was intrusted, was martyred. Now if these were the sure expositors of the apostles' doctrine, then never did an apostle prophesy the events of the last thousand years; then are all our expositions of the Apocalypse, of the twelve hundred and sixty days of the man of sin, and the twenty-three hundred days of Daniel, anti-apostolic and worthless. If we have the authority of the pseudo-Barnabas, the weak-minded Papias, and the philosophic Justin for the Chiliad, on the other hand we have the authority of the "fellow-laborer" of Paul, that he expected the destruction of the man of sin and the advent as "*at hand*;" we have the authority of the successor of Peter, that the "*scoffers*" of "*the last times*," and the burning world, should be in his own age; we have it on the authority of the relatives of Christ and fellow-sufferers of John, that he never dreamed of depicting in his Apocalypse the train of two or three thousand years of earthly events. The traditional authority of these fathers on these points prove all this, or nothing. If they are good cotemporary exposition to establish Chiliasm, they are, at least, quite as good an authority to sweep all modern prophecy with the besom of destruction.

Having traced, we would trust with satisfactory clearness, the origin of the Chiliastic doctrine, the mode of its insinuation into Christian antiquity, and the value of its traditional authority, our next question concerns the extent of its prevalence. Chillingworth

finds an argument against Papal tradition on the fact, that this confessedly false doctrine was for a time maintained by several of the eminent doctors of the Christian church, and attacked by none; Gibbon decides that "though it might not be *universally* received, it appears to have been the *reigning* sentiment of orthodox believers;" Neander, the greatest master of early ecclesiastical history, seems to deny its general prevalence, and assign it a local rise and local extension.\* Candor compels us to say that we think that he understates the fact, and that the truth of the case could not be more accurately compressed than in the above clause of Gibbon.

The declaration of Eusebius, that "most of the ecclesiastical writers," induced by the antiquity of Papias, believed this doctrine, being the concession of an adversary, must be taken in its full extent; and it settles the point, that a clear majority of the registered opinions of the doctors of the church, from the first half of the second century until the time of Eusebius, were Chiliastic. On the other hand, the declarations of Irenæus and Justin Martyr, being the concessions of ardent Chiliasts, must also be interpreted in their full extent. "I am not ignorant," says Irenæus, "that some among us who believe in divers nations and by various works, and who, believing, do consent with the just, do yet endeavor to (transferre) turn these things. But," he adds, "if some have attempted to allegorize these things, they have not been found in all things consistent, and may be convinced from the words themselves." Justin Martyr confesses that "many of a pure and pious judgment do not acknowledge this," namely, the Chiliad. The attempt made by Dr. Duffield and others to make out that the true reading in the above acknowledgment of Justin should have a negative, is scarce reconcilable with the original construction of the sentence; and the fact that he distinguishes his own party as *ορθογνώμονες κατὰ πάντα χριστιανοί* "Christians in every particular orthodox," shows that he meant to represent the opposite party,

\* "If we find that millennarianism [Chiliasmus] was then extensively propagated, and are able to explain this by the circumstances of that period; yet we are not to understand by this, that it ever belonged to the universal doctrines of the church. We have too scanty documents from different parts of the church in those times, to be able to speak with certainty and distinctness on that point. When we find Chiliasm in Papias, Irenæus, Justin Martyr, all this indicates that it arose from *one source, and was propagated from one spot*. The case is somewhat different with those churches, as, for instance, the Romish Church, which had an anti-Jewish origin. We find afterward an anti-millennarian feeling in Rome," &c.—*Rose's Neander*, vol. ii, p. 324.



not as heretics, but as good Christians, imperfectly orthodox. This is very much as one evangelical Christian denomination, at the present day, might speak of another. We may add, that the Oxford edition of Tertullian, published in 1842, gives the sense of Justin as we have rendered it. The testimony of both these Chiliastic fathers proves, therefore, that in the palmiest days of Chiliasm, its opponents were a "respectable minority," numerous in amount, and pure in character. Origen, who was its first great known opponent, speaks of the Chiliasts in his day as being *τινες some*, and *simpliciores quidam, certain rather simple ones*. It may, therefore, be believed that it had much declined long before any recorded attack upon it; that it never was an absolute test of orthodoxy, and that its opposers were always more numerous than the disbelievers in an immediate advent of the Son of man.

The assertion that Dr. Whitby is the author of the doctrine of the *millennium* as distinguished from *Chiliasm*, needs no other refutation than Dr. Duffield himself furnishes, (p. 248,) when he informs us that the princes of Europe "strike directly against the modern notion of the millennium" in the seventeenth article of the Augsburg Confession, which condemns the doctrine "that prior to the resurrection of the dead, the pious will engross the government of the world." We need go no further than a former number of this periodical, which produces the testimony of John Howe, delivered before Whitby published. We need no better proofs than Dr. Duffield's own quotations furnish, that the same was a known doctrine in the best days of the uninspired Jewish church. Perhaps the most that Whitby did was to identify the doctrine of the world's ultimate conversion with the millennium proper, namely, that of Rev. xx. And this was a very natural step, resulting from the solutions which modern commentators had wrought of the previous nineteen chapters. We need not ascribe as much merit to Whitby in regard to the millennium (we speak without disparagement of that great commentator) as Dr. Duffield ascribes to Mede in regard to Chiliasm. "He was the first to open that sealed book; and, unfolding the millennarian doctrine, to pour in a light never seen before. He stands, in fact, the acknowledged father of interpreters of that wonderful book."—P. 256.

The writer, however, in whose collective and constructive imagination the scattered rays of Chiliastic traditions and reveries were combined and expanded into a splendid fabric, seems to have been Papias, a man who figures rather unfortunately among the fathers of the first century, whether exhibited in the history of

Eusebius, or in the preserved fragments of his own writings. When this celebrated church historian ascribes to him the first agency in giving development and currency to the theory of Chiliasm, and characterizes his mind very unfavorably, we see no reason for discrediting his historical statements, because, forsooth, his own orthodoxy, in regard to the trinity, is rather more than suspicious. The statements of Eusebius have the native air of genuine truth, and have some confirmatory circumstances about them. It is from the writings of Papias himself mainly that Eusebius judges him; from them he corrects the statement of Irenæus, that Papias was a hearer of the apostle John; and he quotes at length an extract in which Papias describes the greediness and faith with which he sought and swallowed all obtainable verbal reports and traditions of the oral discourses and personal doings of our Lord and his apostles. The five books in which these were recorded the Christian church has not carefully preserved from oblivion, and has not much respected the specimens which Eusebius gives. "I was of opinion," says Papias, "that I received not so much profit from books as from living and surviving voice." "He relates," says Eusebius, "some marvelous things, (*παράδοξα*,) as having come to him by tradition;" "he relates, as from *unwritten* tradition, some strange parables and teachings of our Saviour, and other things more fabulous. Among which, he says there is to be a thousand years after the resurrection from the dead, the kingdom of Christ corporeally having been established upon the earth, not perceiving that such things were said mystically, in symbols." The silly passages of the stupendous millennial vine, and prolific grain of wheat, demonstrate him to have been as deficient in sense as Eusebius could by any language well represent him.

Doctrinal truth may be stationary, but prophetic revelation, which discloses the great last events of this world, sheds new light with advancing years. To the records of inspired prediction, antiquity is comparatively blind; it is to the patient comparer of past history and past fulfillments, that the accumulating treasures of prophetic truth roll themselves forth. Here the great law of progress rules in full supremacy. Antiquity sits in ignorance, knowledge is with the future; "what is first is adulterate, what is last is true." Even Dr. Duffield would not maintain that the inspired delineation of the great events of this world were as well understood by Papias, Justin Martyr, and Irenæus, as by Bishop Newton, Dr. Whitby, and Dr. Faber. And even admitting that the Scripture predictions of the true millennium were first accu-

ately understood by a commentator so modern as Whitby, nearly all the great events of New Testament prophecy have similarly waited for a modern development. Admitting that the millennial reign of the twentieth chapter of Revelation was not understood by the church until a late century; this is equally true of the whole Apocalypse.

It is the prerogative of Providence to set limitations to human knowledge for human good. God has a glory in concealing; it may have been wisely ordered, and the supposition is no impeachment of divine veracity, that the distance of the advent should be hidden from the knowledge of the early church, in order that she might retain it in her conception, and fear its uncertain approach. With equal wisdom, (and as a necessary consequence of the previous concealment,) the future earthly triumph of Christianity may have been veiled from her view, until the age when Providence had prepared the church for her achievements, and was ready to disclose the truth of the promise, to encourage her in their performance.

Our general conclusions may be stated in brief terms. 1. The doctrine of the millennial conversion of the world, as we hold it, is not only earlier than Dr. Whitby, but earlier than the Christian era, and is clearly found in the earliest uninspired Jewish documents. 2. The doctrines of Chiliasm are Persian, imported from the Babylonish captivity into rabbinism. 3. Thence introduced into certain of the uninspired Christian compositions, and aided by a belief of an immediate advent, they maintained a prevalence, and perhaps an ascendancy, through more or less of the second century. 4. The question being of a prophetic nature, was likely to be misunderstood in early times, and to be elucidated by time and progress. The ancients, therefore, had more reason to look to us than we to them, as the probable possessors of real truth. Whatever is first is adulterate, what here is last is true. We are profoundly convinced, therefore, that upon traditionary grounds, the church has no reason, in regard to this question, to change her doctrinal position; and this conviction we trust soon to corroborate by an appeal to the Scriptures.



ART. VI.—*The New-Englander*, for April, 1843. No. 2.

THIS is the title of a Quarterly issued at New-Haven, Conn., and made up of essays, reviews, and critical notices. As a literary production, the work has considerable claims. Its theology is in strict accordance with that of the New School divines of New-England.

The present number of "*The New-Englander*" honors us with a review of our work upon *Christian Perfection*, the spirit and tone of which are highly characteristic. We cannot enter into a grave discussion of all the points and positions to which we object in this professed review. This would occupy too much time and space, and, in some instances at least, would oblige us to descend below the proper dignity of the subject. A brief criticism of the article is all that is necessary.

The reviewer seems rather to design an *ex cathedra* decision upon the character of Wesley and his theology, and the merits of our work, than a free and candid discussion of the question at issue between us. He proceeds upon the assumption that New Divinity is the divinity of the Bible, and, of course, finds occasion to condemn the Wesleyan theory of perfection whenever it diverges from his standard of orthodoxy. He is sometimes smart and clever enough, but occasionally indulges in a little self-complacency, and not a little contempt for the men and the opinions from which he so widely differs.

We have long since heard from similar quarters that "John Wesley" had "whims and crudities," but we never heard it asserted before, by any one who had the slightest claim to competency as a witness in the case, that he "was not learned in theology, not cautious in forming and expressing his opinions." And it is all new to us that this same "John Wesley" "made up his creed" of "what *seemed to him* to be on the surface of the Scriptures." Wesley's competency as a theologian and an interpreter of Scripture has generally been acknowledged by the more candid of his enemies, and it may be questioned whether any one of the most virulent of them ever expressed a doubt as to his basing his faith upon what at least "*seemed to him*" to be *the true sense* of Scripture. It doubtless was not the good fortune of Mr. Wesley to be able to penetrate so far below "the surface of the Scriptures" as to see in their hidden recesses the peculiar dogmas of the reviewer. This would have required a baptism of New-England philosophy, which no one, in his days, had received.

He lived too early to avail himself of the *improvements in theological science* which mark the present age. But this can be no apology for his successors, who, despite all the light which for the last twenty years has been emitted from New-Haven and elsewhere, have not advanced a hair's breadth beyond the position of their illustrious founder. For the reviewer says, that the creed of Wesley precisely "is the creed of all his followers, stereotyped for the faith of all living Wesleyans, and of all that shall be." This is sufficiently disparaging to the character both of "living Wesleyans and of those that shall be." But if it is true, the reviewer cannot be blamed for proclaiming it abroad.

The "gratifying contrast between this chaining of free thought by fixed formularies of faith, and the truly Christian liberty that has ever been enjoyed in the primitive churches of New-England," with which the reviewer is so much elated, and which he makes a matter of so much triumph over the poor Wesleyans, is, if we mistake not, a mere creature of the imagination. Let us see, then, how the Congregationalists and Presbyterians of New-England contrast with the Wesleyans in these respects. In relation to them the reviewer says,—

"They have their great men, the fathers of their churches, and the scientific expounders of their faith. They have, too, a well-defined and well-known system of doctrinal articles, which they highly esteem. But they receive the Bible as the infallible and only rule of faith; so that whoever among them proves, from the word of God, that a commonly received article of faith is erroneous, or that the reasoning of any standard writer is inconclusive, is esteemed a public benefactor. Witness the reverence and gratitude of the churches toward such men as the elder and the younger Edwards, Dwight, Bellamy, Emmons, and others that are thought to have contributed to the correction of old theological errors. Yet even these men are not held infallible. Their opinions are fair matter of criticism. Tappan and Cheever are in no danger of ecclesiastical censures for presuming to differ from the elder Edwards on points of philosophy that affect the foundations of religion. Nor is this owing to indifference to the truth, but to warm attachment. Nothing is feared, but much is expected, from discussion."—P. 216.

We have no doubt at all but the discussions and controversies among the Congregational and Presbyterian Churches in New-England have resulted in much good, and that these churches are right in their "reverence and gratitude toward" those distinguished men who have "contributed to the correction of old theological errors." And had Wesley built Methodism upon the Saybrook Platform, conflicts and revolutions in doctrinal opinions might have followed similar to those which the reviewer

mentions with so much self-complacency. But so long as the Methodists can see no "old theological errors" in their system to correct, in the name of reason why should they be blamed for living at peace among themselves! Is contention so blessed a thing, and so necessary to the church's prosperity, that her members must contend when they are perfectly agreed, and have nothing to contend about? If controversy upon "points of philosophy that affect the foundations of religion" is a necessary element of "truly Christian liberty," the Methodists, it may be hoped, will be content to remain in their present mental servitude, at least until they find a fair occasion for controversy upon radical points, and for an ultimate breaking up of their existing unity of doctrinal opinions. If unsettling fundamental and established doctrinal principles, a perfect chaos of formularies, and an utter want of all unity both of feeling and action, constitute a valid ground of self-glorification, we hope the time is distant when the Wesleyans will be disposed to contend with the reviewer for the honor or blessedness of such a state of things.

The reviewer's broad insinuations about "chaining free thought by fixed formularies of faith," and hurling "ecclesiastical censures against all dissenters," if we have the sagacity to understand them, can but be regarded as very exceptionable and offensive. And his meaning can scarcely be misunderstood; for he contrasts the Wesleyans with Congregationalists and Presbyterians, in that the latter denominations "receive the Bible as the infallible and only rule of faith." Now if the reviewer intends to insinuate that the Wesleyans have "fixed formularies," independent of the Bible, which they receive and enforce as a "rule of faith," he is wholly in error. The Methodists have a book of Discipline containing articles of religion, rules of practice, and prudential regulations. But they require in their members no subscription to "fixed formularies of faith" as a condition of membership. They do consider that unity, both in doctrine and feeling, is essential to the prosperity of any branch of the church; but still allow full liberty of private judgment, and all the freedom of discussion consistent with the peace of the church. A well-regulated Christian community must certainly be at peace among themselves, and if any are dissatisfied, either with the doctrines or usages of any particular Christian church, they ought certainly, if they cannot keep the peace, quietly to retire. And we would ask our reviewer to tell us when the Methodist Church has "hurled her ecclesiastical censures against all dissentients?" No church, we believe, is more liberal with "dissentients" than the Methodist. She uniformly



gives all such leave peaceably to retire without the least "ecclesiastical censure." When they prefer any other branch of the church, she bids them go in peace in the name of the Lord. That she should labor to preserve peace and order within her own pale, may by the reviewer be thought an instance of intolerable tyranny, but we hope she will never so far forget herself as to substitute the true liberty of the gospel for that licentiousness of debate which wholly annihilates Christian unity, and renders mutual co-operation utterly impracticable.

The reviewer's eulogies upon our work we shall leave without special notice, as we cannot insert them without complimenting ourselves. Its leading defects are, first, as to "the plan."

"Instead of making the work strictly either historical, or polemical, or practical, the author has brought forth a mongrel production, not worthless, but of little worth, either as a history of perfectionism, a defense of the Wesleyan theory, or a 'help' in the divine life."  
—P. 217.

Perhaps this criticism is very fair. But we had hoped both friends and foes would do us the justice to look candidly at the evident design of the work. It was our object to enter into the *history* of the doctrine of Christian perfection only so far as is necessary to show the real difference between that doctrine as maintained by Methodists and by others in different periods with whom they differ in radical points, but with whom they have often been confounded by their opponents; to meet leading objections; to exhibit the true grounds of the Wesleyan theory; and to give the whole a practical issue. Now that we could not, with this object in view, write a work *wholly* either historical, polemical, or practical, need not be proved. But if, in the execution of our plan, we have "brought forth a mongrel production"—a work that is neither historical, polemical, nor practical, neither one thing nor another—then, indeed, have we made a miserable failure, and ought to be willing that it should be frowned into oblivion. "The other principal faults," it seems, "are prolixity and indefiniteness."

The ground for the charge of prolixity doubtless lies in the space occupied with the opinions and theories of the several classes of divines pro and con. All the apology we have to make for this is, that we supposed this part of the work would be useful to the class of readers for whom it was more especially designed. We thought it desirable to lay before Methodist readers theories and views which are not to them easily accessible, and are important to a full and comprehensive understanding of the controversy. All this matter may be perfectly stale and void of importance in the

estimation of the reviewer, but we (perhaps wrongly) judged it would not be so to those who are likely to feel the deepest interest in the subject. But a more serious charge is that of indefiniteness. The reviewer proceeds :—

“This [its prolixity] the reader might pardon, if in the midst of so much superfluity, he could find clear and full definitions of the principal points in controversy. We do not say that he cannot ascertain from it what Wesleyan perfectionism, the main subject of the book, is; but he cannot find it in any single definition, nor in any single series of propositions. He is obliged to resort to a collation and comparison of a multitude of imperfect statements—some positive, some negative—from which to infer, rather than out of which to construct, a complete definition of the doctrine.”—P. 217.

We hope the reviewer is honest in all this; but the obtuseness of our vision will not admit of a discovery of any just ground for his conclusions. Difficult as it seems to have been for him to “find clear and full definitions of the principal points in controversy,” he proceeds to give one from us, one which we have given from Mr. Wesley, and another from Dr. Clarke, which seem to us to be both specific and comprehensive; none of them being the result of “a collation and comparison of a multitude of imperfect statements,” but all in our own language and that of our authorities. The reviewer must have overlooked the “series of propositions” in page 83, where, by “collation,” we have deduced from our standards “clear and full definitions” of the Wesleyan theory, covering all “the principal points in controversy.” Or, which is more probable, he has in his mind’s eye “points in controversy” which we do not recognize as constituting any part of the Wesleyan theory. This indeed seems to be the true source of the reviewer’s difficulties, as will be made evident in the course of this examination. Had we designed to draw out such a definition of the Wesleyan theory as would satisfy our reviewer, we could not but know that it would be necessary to embrace such “points” as in his *collations* and *comparisons* he would fain make parts and parcels of our system. But we had truth distinctly in view, and seeing no consistency or force in his logical processes and results, we have, doubtless, sadly failed to satisfy him in our definitions.

After some general remarks upon the difference between us upon the subject of *ability*, the reviewer meets what he considers the gist of the question at issue touching perfection. He proceeds,—

“This brings us to the main peculiarity of their scheme—the basis of their doctrine of perfection, which, therefore, needs to be well under-

stood—namely, *the substitution in the place of the perfect law of another rule of moral obligation*—a rule corresponding exactly in its demands with the present capacities of man. The grace of the gospel, as they teach, consists, in part, in the abrogation of the Adamic law, and in reducing the claims of God on man's obedience to the measure of his fallen powers. 'The standard of character,' says Dr. Peck, 'set up in the gospel must be such as is practicable by man, fallen as he is. Coming up to this standard is what we call Christian perfection.' P. 294. 'Each alike (the original law of perfect purity and the law of love) requires the exercise of *all the capabilities* of the subjects.' P. 292. He adds in substance, that allowing the same formulary, 'Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart,' 'to be used both by the angelic law [he should say, the *Adamic* law] and the law of love, the *whole heart* implies less in the latter case than in the former.'—Pp. 218, 219.

This paragraph sets us in a false position. For by "the standard of character" here, we mean simply *the conditions of the Christian covenant*, or what God requires of any one under the Gospel dispensation *as a condition of his approbation, in the highest sense*, and of final salvation. And we do alledge that this is, in some respects, less than legal perfection. That instead of perfect obedience to the law, God requires *as the condition of salvation* THE OBEDIENCE OF FAITH. But we have never asserted, nor do we believe, that this implies "the abrogation of the Adamic law." The only sense in which we maintain the law to be set aside or superseded is *as a covenant—a condition of salvation*. And this is precisely the view of Mr. Wesley, as all he has advanced in his three sermons on the law, and in his Plain Account of Christian Perfection, makes abundantly evident. The reviewer, however, is not satisfied with our exposition of Mr. Wesley's views touching this point. We will give his paragraph entire, that the reader may fully appreciate the force of his reasoning:—

"Dr. Peck shrinks from a fair interpretation of the language of Wesley, and the other standard writers, on this point; and he takes Dr. Pond, a very cautious and discriminating writer, severely to task for saying, that Wesley 'held to the repeal of the Adamic law, and thought it very consistent with perfection that persons should fall into great errors and faults.' We will enable our readers to judge between them. Wesley says: 'No man is able to perform the service which the Adamic law requires.—And no man is obliged to perform it; for Christ is the end of the Adamic as well as of the Mosaic law. By his death he hath put an end to both; he hath abolished both the one and the other, with regard to man; and the obligation to observe either the one or the other is vanished away. Nor is any man living bound to observe the Adamic more than the Mosaic law. (I mean, it is not the condition either of present or future salvation.)' The justice of Dr. Pond's representation turns on the meaning of Wesley in the words in



the parenthesis. Did he simply mean, that perfect obedience to the law is not now the condition of salvation? Then he does not differ from his Calvinistic brethren. They hold that man is no longer under law in this sense, but under grace. The sins of all penitent believers are freely forgiven. This, however, was not Wesley's meaning. For he says, in the same connection, that 'the whole law under which we now are is fulfilled by love, [a love inferior to that demanded by the perfect law.] Faith working or animated by love, is all that God now requires of man. He has substituted (not sincerity, but) love in the room of angelic perfection.' His theory seems to be this: 'Man cannot possibly be saved, even by Christ, if, as a condition of salvation, he must love God and serve him, according to the perfect law. He cannot become a Christian, if to be so implies loving God as he is bound by that law to love him. He has not power to love to that degree; nor to walk according to that standard. And, moreover, a perfect God cannot accept, pardon, and glorify a sinful being, or one that falls short of entire obedience to his law. He cannot, therefore, save us, unless he repeals his law, so far as we cannot even by the aid of divine grace obey it; and consents to accept of a less degree of love, and of a fitful conformity to the original law, as perfect obedience. Accordingly he has made this change. Thus he has set up a new standard of holiness, in order that man may be able to comply with the conditions of salvation.' That this was Wesley's philosophy, falsely so called, must be perfectly plain to every impartial reader of the work before us. Perfection he held to be an indispensable condition of salvation."—P. 219.

Now the reader will be prepared to see whence the necessity of which the reviewer complains so bitterly of being "obliged to resort to a collation and comparison of a multitude of imperfect statements—from which to infer, rather than out of which to construct, a complete definition of the doctrine." It is because, in our definitions, we do not embrace an element which he may justly conclude would be destructive of our system. The absence of this element renders his principal objection to us utterly powerless, and places the real doctrine which we maintain beyond the reach of his logic. Could he compel us to assert the unqualified "abrogation of the law," we would then be fairly within his power. But fully to understand the case, let us inquire, first, what he concedes; and, secondly, what he maintains.

*First*, then, the reviewer concedes, that if Mr. Wesley means "that perfect obedience to the law is not now the condition of salvation, then he does not differ from his Calvinistic brethren." We had asserted that this is what he means, and all that he means; and we had made good this assertion from his own language.

But, *secondly*, he asserts, that we shrink from "a fair interpretation of the language of Mr. Wesley." Here we join issue with

the reviewer, and pledge ourselves, that if, upon a "collation and comparison" of all Mr. Wesley has left in writing upon the subject, it shall appear that this is not precisely his view, we will give him up as a dangerous guide in theology. He endeavors to prove that "this was not Wesley's meaning;" and his argument is, that "he says, in the same connection, that 'the whole law under which we now are is fulfilled by love. Faith working, or animated by love, is all that God now requires of man. He has substituted (not sincerity, but) love in the room of angelic perfection.'" Well, what of all this? The qualifying parenthesis, "I mean, it is not the condition either of present or future salvation," is to be understood as applied to all that is said in the connection upon Christ being the end of the law, the law being dead, and love being its fulfillment. But the reviewer must make Mr. Wesley set aside the law in an objectionable sense, and to do this, after Dr. Pond, "a very cautious and discriminating writer," he must make him, in a strictly qualifying sentence, mean just nothing at all, or most absurdly contradict the whole strain of his remarks. For if indeed Mr. Wesley intended to say that the law was unqualifiedly abrogated, in this limiting clause, introduced very formally, as it would seem for the purpose of giving it importance and force, he takes great pains to limit what he wishes to be understood as making universal, or he evidently contradicts himself. Now, against this abuse of an author, either dead or alive, we must enter our solemn protest. If Wesley were an infidel or a heathen, we should meet the reviewer with the same earnest remonstrance. This method of carrying a point will never do. Let justice be done, though the heavens fall! We charge the reviewer with (at least logical) injustice to us and Mr. Wesley. We must make allowance for his prejudices, and for the distorting medium through which he looks at the language which he misinterprets. And we must not forget the fact that great men have sinned against the founder of Methodism upon this point, before him. And though he is one of the number of the New-England divines who have gone so much beyond their fathers in the profundity of their investigations, and have asserted such perfect freedom of thought and action, yet in several of the most exceptionable points of their doctrinal views and modes of attack and defense, he strictly follows on in the track of his illustrious predecessors and guides.

The reviewer further attempts to prove that Mr. Wesley "means more" than we suppose. He says,—

"He [Mr. Wesley] denies disobedience to any law but the law of Christ, to be sin. 'Such transgressions,' he says, p. 63, 'you may

call sins, if you please: I do not, for the reasons above mentioned.' Why not acknowledge them to be sins, since he allows them to be transgressions of the perfect law, if he did not also hold that that law was abrogated by Christ as a rule of moral obligation, as well as a condition of salvation?"—P. 220.

Is it not strange that the reviewer will not see that Mr. Wesley expressly admits all "transgressions of the perfect law" to be "sins," when that admission is immediately before him? That they are "sins" in such a sense as to require an atonement, he explicitly asserts over and over again: and only denies them to be so in such a sense as that they would preclude the divine favor through the merits of Christ. He says, indeed, "You may call them sins, if you please: I do not, for the reasons above mentioned." He had above defined "sin, properly so called," to be "a voluntary transgression of a known law," and "sin, improperly so called," to be "an involuntary transgression of a divine law, either known or unknown." These definitions taken into the account, all is plain. When he says he does not call these "involuntary transgressions of a divine law" "sins," he means that they are not "sins, properly so called." The reviewer might consistently wage war with these definitions. Could he show that they are absurd or unphilosophical, he would do something. But he has no right to leave them out of the question, and then proceed to judge of Mr. Wesley's conclusions in their relations to his own definition of sin. It is palpably unjust to attempt to involve Mr. Wesley in the absurdity of maintaining that transgressions of the perfect law are in *no* sense sins, when he only denies that they are so in *one* sense.

But the reviewer thinks Mr. Wesley's position, that these "involuntary transgressions of a divine law" are not sins, "properly so called," goes to prove that he held that "the perfect law was abrogated by Christ as a rule of moral obligation, as well as a condition of salvation." This is an obvious sophism. There is a grand difference between holding that the law is no longer to be regarded as a covenant of works, by perfect obedience to which a man is to be justified, and holding that it is abrogated. That Mr. Wesley held to no such abrogation of the law, as the reviewer charges upon him, we could prove by a multitude of quotations from his writings. Two small paragraphs must suffice for the present. The first is, a definition of the law which is wholly inconsistent with such a view, and the second is an explicit denial of it. He says,—



"Now this law is an incorruptible picture of the high and holy ONE that inhabiteth eternity. It is he, whom, in his essence, no man hath seen or can see, made visible to men and angels. It is the face of God unveiled; God manifested to his creatures as they are able to bear it; manifested to give, and not to destroy life—that they may see God and live. It is the heart of God disclosed to man. Yea, in some sense, we may apply to this law, what the apostle says of his Son, it is *απαυγασμα της δοξης, και χαρακτηρ της υποστασεως αυτου*—*the streaming forth [or out-beaming] of his glory, the express image of his person.*"—*Sermon xxxiv*, vol. i, p. 309.

Now, could he hold that this "incorruptible picture of the high and holy One that inhabiteth eternity"—this "out-beaming of his glory," could ever be abolished? But he explicitly denies the fact of the abrogation of the law. Hear him:—

"But is the zeal of these men according to knowledge? Have they observed the connection between the law and faith, and that, considering the close connection between them, to destroy one is indeed to destroy both? That, to abolish the moral law, is, in truth, to abolish faith and the law together; as leaving no proper means, either of bringing us to faith, or of stirring up that gift of God in our soul?"—*Ib.*, p. 316.

The law, then, remains unchanged, and acts as "our school-master to bring us to Christ, that we may be justified by faith." But this does by no means prove that it is possible for us perfectly to meet its claims, or that we will be condemned for coming short of them. Dr. Wayland, who will be acknowledged good authority upon this question, makes a distinction between *right and wrong*, and *innocence and guilt*. "Right and wrong," says he, "depend upon the relations under which beings are created; and, hence, the obligations resulting from these relations are, in their nature, fixed and unchangeable. *Guilt and innocence* depend upon the knowledge of these relations, and of the obligations arising from them. As these are manifestly susceptible of variation, while right and wrong are invariable, the two notions may manifestly not always correspond to each other."—*Moral Science*, p. 91.

Hence, under the remedial dispensation, man is supposed to be in a state of mental darkness and imbecility, and is put upon terms suited to such a condition of things. These terms imply the exercise of his present capabilities, with all the grace that God promises to afford, to their fullest extent. Now though this would not amount to *legal perfection*, yet the want of it does not involve the subject in personal guilt. He may perfectly meet the terms of salvation under the remedial dispensation, though he does not, and

cannot, perfectly meet the claims of the law under which he was created.

This whole controversy resolves itself into one question, viz.: *Whether it is proper to make the terms of salvation as presented in the gospel the standard of Christian character?* That we are to be saved by perfect legal obedience, our opponents no more maintain than we do. They explicitly alledge that we are "justified by faith alone;" and that we retain the divine favor by a "faith that works by love and purifies the heart." What, then, constitutes a Christian, except justification by a faith that proceeds, from the moment of its existence, to work by love. Will not, then, *perfect faith* and *perfect love* constitute a perfect Christian? Is not the Christian's character estimated and measured by the strength, extent, and efficiency of his faith and love to God and man? What hinders our opponents from answering these inquiries in the affirmative? Is not this the plain, practical, common-sense view of the subject? Why, then, all this shuffling to avoid a plain logical consequence of principles which we all hold in common?

We thank the reviewer for quoting from us the clear and logical statements of Bishop Hedding, though we attach about as "little worth" to his commentary upon them as he does to our book. In fact, the text needs no commentary. A little candor and common sense are quite sufficient to enable any one to understand it in all its length and breadth—in its principles and practical results.

The reviewer's whole argument upon this point is miserably sophistical and disingenuous. It is also a flagrant instance of the violation of that rule for the management of controversy, which requires that the logical consequences which we attach to the propositions of an opponent should not be attributed to him as a part of his system, unless he acknowledges them. The consequences, which the reviewer seems to consider an essential part of his theory, Mr. Wesley explicitly disclaims. We have done the same, and shall continue to do so to the last. If, after all, our reviewer shall continue to maintain that what Mr. Wesley asserts as explicitly as possible, "was not his *meaning*," and, by consequence, that this learned divine is either a knave or a fool; and that we are such a crouching slave to the dogmas of our founder, that we adhere to them though we shrink from "a fair interpretation" of his "language;" why, so it must be. We can only leave our solemn protest with him, and wait the issue.

Thus far the reviewer only aims to show from our work "what Wesleyan perfectionism is." This he has done to a charm, as we have seen, by "a collation and comparison," not indeed of "a

multitude of imperfect statements," but of a few "statements," "imperfect" enough to be sure, but rendered so by the false constructions of the reviewer himself. He next proceeds to give us a catalogue of the points in the "system, of which this doctrine is a consistent part," which he considers not to have "the least support from the word of God." We will now give the reader the whole, that he may see upon how many points the reviewer stands in stern opposition to Wesleyanism. Thus he proceeds :—

"What hypothesis in the whole system, of which this doctrine is a constituent part, has the least support from the word of God? Not, that man lost by the fall the capacities of a free moral agent. Not, that all the ability man has to do his duty is a gracious ability. Not, that man is unable, even by the aid of divine grace, to obey the perfect law. Not, that Christ has abrogated the perfect law, and introduced a laxer rule of moral obligation. Not, that man must be perfectly holy before his soul leaves the body, as a condition of salvation. Not, that any act of omission or of commission, absolutely unavoidable, may be a transgression of a divine law, so that it cannot bear the rigor of divine justice, and needs an atonement. Not, that a perfect Christian may transgress the divine law by mistake, and do so without sin. Not, that a Christian cannot commit a voluntary sin, without ceasing to be a Christian, falling from grace, and forfeiting his salvation. Not, that sin may remain in a Christian, independent of his choice and against choice. None of these things are asserted in the Bible. On the other hand, much may be alledged against them, both from the word of God, and established principles of philosophy."—Pp. 221, 222.

Now the converse of these several hypotheses we suppose to constitute the faith of the reviewer. We will simply state them, and give such illustrations as are necessary to enable the reader to see his real positions. He asserts,—

1. That man did not lose by the fall the capacities of a free moral agent.
2. That the ability which man has to do his duty, is not wholly a gracious ability, that is, this ability is wholly or partly natural and inherent.
3. That man is able, either by the aid of divine grace or without it, (we can scarcely tell which,) to obey the perfect law: thus rejecting the faith of the Presbyterian Church upon this point.
4. That Christ has not abrogated the perfect law and introduced a laxer rule of moral obligation. In this we do not disagree with him. For, as we have already shown, we no more than the reviewer hold that "the perfect law" has been abrogated, except in so far as it partakes of the nature of a *covenant*.



5. That man need not be perfectly holy before his soul leaves the body as a condition of salvation. Here we would query: What provision does the gospel make for man's becoming holy "after his soul leaves the body?" We acknowledge we differ here with the reviewer upon a radical point. He must hold either that men can go to heaven without perfect holiness, or that the process of sanctification is completed in a "middle passage," after death, and before they finally reach their changeless state. The first of these positions is a species of infidelity, the latter is Romanism, and both are wholly unscriptural.

6. That unavoidable acts and omissions are not transgressions of divine law, but can bear the rigor of divine justice, and need no atonement. So that sins of ignorance or infirmity are not inconsistent with perfect legal purity, and need not the virtue of the Saviour's blood!

7. That there is no such thing as transgressing the divine law by mistake, and doing it without sin; (that is, as he must mean, or do us injustice;) and do so without forfeiting the divine favor.

8. That a Christian may commit a voluntary sin without ceasing to be a Christian, falling from grace, and forfeiting his salvation. If he leaves repentance and amendment out of the question, his doctrine is grossly Antinomian.

9. That sin cannot remain in a Christian independent of and against his choice. By *sin* here the reviewer cannot mean *voluntary offenses*, for then he would assert an unmeaning truism. He probably refers to what we call sins of ignorance or infirmity, and intends to deny the existence of any such thing, as he does explicitly elsewhere. He maintains that there is no sin without voluntary action. Of course, that we have nothing to be saved from but voluntary sins, and, consequently, that all infants and idiots have no need of a Saviour at all, but will stand complete in original righteousness in the day of the Lord, without any salvation by Christ!

Now we should be glad to know what may be produced in support of these propositions, "both from the word of God and established principles of philosophy." We hope when our reviewer resumes his pen he will not dogmatize upon these mooted questions, but will bring forth his strong reasons.

The remainder of the article consists in an amplification of several of the points above noticed without any material addition to the force of the argument against us. The reviewer finds errors in the Wesleyan theory "both surprising and pernicious." These are, that there is such a thing as *original sin*, not consisting in the

voluntary actions of the individual, but in a hereditary taint, which requires atonement and sanctification: that involuntary offenses and short comings cannot stand before the rigor of divine justice, but need an atonement: that for these we are not condemned by the law of love: that it is not possible for a man here to attain to perfect legal purity, &c. Some of these are not merely "idle, but pestilent, charming myriads into a false sense of purity—a matchless opiate to the consciences of men," &c. No doubt the reviewer honestly thinks as he writes; and so he may continue to think in spite of all we can say. Could we succeed, however, in diverting his attention from his theory, and directing it for but a brief space to facts, perhaps he might find it difficult to show that those who hold these obnoxious tenets have more *sleepy consciences* than their fellow Christians. This would at least suggest the possibility of an error upon his part in tracing out the logical consequences of the theory he opposes.

We think, on the other hand, that his system has had practical bearings. It seems to us, his theory, that nothing but voluntary sin stands in need of an atonement, not only saves all infants and idiots without Christ, but supposes it *possible* for all others to stand at last complete in original righteousness equally independent of the Saviour. For if all acts and states of mind can stand before the rigor of divine justice, except such as are the result of volition, and if no man is constrained to put forth an evil volition, then, surely, if there is force in logic, no one *necessarily* needs a Saviour—then it is *possible* for all so perfectly to keep God's holy law as to be saved upon strictly legal principles. Here our reviewer is not only involved in the absurdity of a possibility of *legal perfection*, but the unscriptural theory of *salvation by the law*! Would such ascribe their salvation to *the blood of Christ*, or would they not rather rejoice that they stood in no need of it?

The reviewer agrees with Dr. Woods in holding "both to the attainableness and non-attainment, in this life, of a state of legal perfection." If the perfection which he admits possible were *Christian* perfection, we then should agree with him upon the former part of his theory, and differ with him upon the latter. But as it is a strictly "*legal* perfection" of which he speaks, we dissent from the former and agree in the latter part. Now he asserts and we deny the attainableness of a strictly legal perfection. This it will at once be perceived is a new ground of controversy. From the days of Wesley the great point in debate has been *the attainableness* of a state of Christian perfection;—not implying a state of holiness in such strict conformity to the demands of the original

law, that the subject of it could stand before the rigor of divine justice. The great body of Calvinistic divines have ever taken the negative of this question. But the New-England theologians have changed the ground, and proceeded to admit much more than we contend for; indeed, what we believe to be wholly inadmissible. They now admit the *possibility* of the highest original perfection. Upon this point no class of theologians, except Romanists, have ever been so high perfectionists as they are. They do not, like the Romanists, assert that we can do *more* than the law requires: they have not advanced quite so far as this; but they come as near to it as possible, and in doing so take a long stride beyond the limits of the old platform. Their hypothesis is, indeed, plainly contrary to the explicit statements of the great master John Calvin and the Westminster divines, as adopted by the Presbyterian Church. This, however, is just nothing with the reviewer, for the "Presbyterians and Congregationalists of New-England" have asserted the liberty of thinking for themselves. Or, to speak more plainly, they have attained that perfection of Christian liberty which will admit of their maintaining both sides of a contradiction. They are right good Calvinists while they hold dogmas repudiated by the great Genevan reformer, and first rate Presbyterians while they hold sentiments rejected by the Confession of Faith. In all this they are far in advance of the Methodists, who judge it necessary either to adhere to the fundamental doctrines of Wesley or to give up the profession of Wesleyanism.

In conclusion, we would say, not so much "justice to ourselves," as a regard for truth, has induced us to write this criticism upon the reviewer. We do not take it in ill part that he has seen proper to criticise our work, or that he differs entirely from the theory we have adopted. We except to his views, but respect his talents and his good intentions. But should he see proper to continue the controversy, we may be allowed to hope he will go more fully into the main points of the argument, and not spend his strength upon distinctions which are merely incidental. And in doing this, we shall expect him to take upon himself a fair proportion of the labor of *proving*. He may be assured that we shall never give up our theory merely because it conflicts with the main points of the system of "the Congregationalists of New-England." We can never be converted to that system until we see the proof that it is according to God's holy word.



ART. VII.—*Travels in Egypt, Arabia Petræa, and the Holy Land.*

By Rev. STEPHEN OLIN, D. D., President of the Wesleyan University. With illustrations on steel. 2 vols., 12mo., pp. 458, 478. New-York: Harper and Brothers. 1843.

THE want of space in our last number compelled our correspondent, who undertook the review of the above work, to close his article just as he had arrived at the point which will undoubtedly be regarded as the most interesting portion of the work. Justice to all concerned requires that we should resume the subject, and make an effort to complete the review, and to present the reader with a more adequate idea of the labors of our distinguished friend and brother, Dr. Olin, in the investigation of that portion of the world hallowed by so many sacred associations.

We shall not follow the thread of the narrative, but shall present a few specimens of the labors performed, of the scenes witnessed, and of the discoveries made by our traveler.

In following our friend up and down the Nile, through the desert, and over "the hill country of Judea," we are struck with astonishment at the amount of physical labor performed by one who calls himself an "invalid." We should, from an *a priori* view of the subject, naturally have been led to expect that, through weakness, exhaustion, and occasional visits of melancholy, he would have passed by many objects of interest as too difficult of access, and involving too much muscular exertion and peril of life. But, instead of this, we see him always by day, and often by night, manfully buffeting with difficulties and perils—ascending and descending steepes, patiently examining and accurately measuring grottoes and piles of ruins, urging on his indolent and mercenary guides and attendants, and scarcely leaving an object of interest without due notice—fairly rivaling in industry and hardy enterprise the most daring and persevering traveling antiquary.

The habits of observation and philosophical association which develop themselves so strikingly in these volumes, eminently qualified our traveler to make every step of his journey tributary to the stock of interesting and useful observations and results. Hence, his descriptions, his reflections, and his practical observations upon the causes and relations of the many strange objects and mysterious facts which were ever and anon before him, are replete with interest and instruction. For instance, how evidently do his conclusions with regard to the government of Mohammed Ali grow out of the multitude of facts which he

brings so clearly and prominently before us, that we fancy ourselves standing upon the borders of the Nile, and seeing with our own eyes the workings of a system of government intolerably selfish, tyrannical, and oppressive! Who can read the developments here made, and the lucid and pertinent observations which accompany them, without more highly prizing the blessings of a pure Christianity and of free institutions? Who but will be induced by what is here presented so tangibly before him, to pray more fervently than ever for the speedy termination of the reign of the false prophet, and the universal triumphs of the cross of Christ? Who but will be moved by a stronger sympathy for the moral, political, and physical degradation of vast multitudes of his fellow-men?

The visit of our traveler to Mount Sinai is full of interest. Some abatement is however made from the pleasure which his account of this visit affords the reader by the condition of things at "the convent," in the neighborhood. Here, where, it would seem, the piety of nominal Christians has consulted means for the better preparation of men for *the other world*, no little regard is had to such interests of *this* as are made so high an object with the proprietors of houses of entertainment, or *taverns*, in other parts of the world. The *quid pro quo* is always looked for, it seems, with some little *earthly* anxiety by the *holy monks*. And if our traveler had escaped without suffering a worse evil than merely paying a high price for poor accommodations, it would have been quite tolerable. But his hired servant, "Ibrahim," was here (as he solemnly declared for the first time) made drunk, and, up to the period of his term of service, fell into the same evil as often as he could find the means of intoxication at command. We should be inclined to suppose that the neighborhood of Sinai, where God appeared in such terrible majesty, and to which *pious* Christians are allured, for the purpose of being more effectually directed to the contemplation of heavenly things, would cause them to exhibit some fruits of the transforming influence of these associations, and at least that they would prefer the pure mountain stream to the intoxicating cup. And it seems especially to be regretted that *Christians* who occupy these sacred places, from religious considerations, and who, by way of eminence, are called *holy fathers*, should be instruments in the hands of the devil of corrupting Mohammedans. Would it not be well to send Father Mathews upon a mission to the convents of the East? But, to digress no further.

The description given of Mount Sinai and its vicinity by Dr. Olin is the best we have ever seen. He takes observations from

various points, and by ascending heights, which command extensive views, marks the relative position of the various cliffs, gorges, and vales which characterize the scenery. He considers the several theories which have been advanced as to the precise location where God gave the law to Moses, and gives good reasons for his own. To give the reader some idea of our traveler's rambles over this consecrated ground, and of his powers of description, we will present him with his own account of one of his adventures. He says,—

“I spent an hour or more upon these lofty and venerable summits, and read the Decalogue, with an account of the prodigies which attended its promulgation, ‘on the top of the mountain,’ where I cannot doubt it was promulgated by the Almighty Lawgiver. Several deep valleys lie among the different masses of this part of the mountain, covered with a profusion of shrubs, to which the herds of goats belonging to the Bedouins find access by paths, certainly less steep and toilsome than those by which we made our ascent.

“My return from Sooksafa to the convent proved a much more serious affair than the upward journey. I did not wish to proceed by the same way, and thought a more direct path might be found, which would also give opportunity for exploring more extensively the central parts of the mountain. My companion took a gorge that led him to the valley of the cypress, through which we had passed in ascending Mount Sinai on Saturday. I fell into one which took a southeast direction, toward the vale of the convent. This side of the mountain is very steep, and the gorge, walled up on both sides by perpendicular cliffs, presented a slope unexpectedly abrupt and difficult, which was only made practicable by the rocks lodged there in their descent from the mountain: these, however, gave a good foothold. After descending for about half an hour, I was stopped short by a precipice at least one hundred feet deep. No course remained but to retrace my steps up the gorge, and in another half hour I was again upon the summit of the mountain. Looking about for a more practicable route, I soon found and entered a second ravine, similar in appearance to the first. Both had been formed by the removal of some perpendicular strata interposed between the masses of granite, which rise in upright or overhanging cliffs of towering height. This second attempt to reach the vale was not more fortunate than the first. At about the same point in the descent, an immense mass of granite, forty feet or more in diameter, had lodged, and completely blocked up the gap. Accumulations of smaller stones and debris formed a level on the upper side of the rock; but below, the torrents had worn a frightful precipice, extending to a depth much greater than the height of the rock. Here, again, was an impassable barrier, and I turned my face once more toward the summit of the mountain. The ascent proved difficult. I had slid down in several places over smooth rocks, which afforded no hold to the feet or hands in ascending. My strength began to fail under this unfortunate accumulation of labor, and I experienced a



lively satisfaction when I once more stood on the lofty summit above, clouded only by the necessity of renewing an attempt which I began painfully to feel might be crowned with no better success than the former. I would have returned to Sooksafa, and taken the way which I at first declined, but had lost the direction. I resolved, therefore, to attempt to find my way to the vale of the cypress, where I should have no difficulty in following the beaten road to the convent. Ascending to the highest peak in this part of the mountain to take an observation, I soon struck a gorge which led in the right direction. It presented all the difficulties of those I had previously attempted, with the exception of such as were absolutely insuperable. I slid over long declivities, having a surface too smooth to admit even of creeping, and I was made anxious by the reflection that it would be impossible to retrace my steps, should this gorge, like the others, prove to be impassable. I soon found that it did not lead to the cypress, but took a direction toward the eastern side of the mountain, of whose enormous, abrupt cliffs and precipices I had such recent experience. After descending for some time, I was gratified with the sight of a small, rude chapel, such as are to be found in several of the deep glens of the mountain. This demonstrated, at least, that the way was not unknown. The gorge by which I was descending expanded into a large vale, watered and verdant, but soon contracted again to its former dimensions, and I had reason to believe, from the increasing abruptness of the descent, and the total disappearance of all indications of improvement, that the chapel was approached from the opposite direction, probably from the valley of the cypress. This, at least, promised a way of escape should I be compelled once more to return. Fortunately, however, I was enabled to proceed by this route to the foot of the mountain. I reproached myself with the imprudence of venturing into a region so full of precipices and impassable gulfs without a guide; and I trust that a lesson which has cost so much anxiety and toil will not be lost upon me.

"I was employed in these baffling attempts to descend the mountain three and a quarter hours, and was absent, in all, above six hours. Twice this last gorge was stopped by immense fragments of rocks, which had fallen from above, and perfectly filled it, forming precipices thirty or forty feet in height. In both instances I found a subterranean passage made by the rains, just large enough to admit my body, through which I crawled under the superincumbent mass, and reached the bottom of the precipice formed by this lodgment. The last hour was one of intense anxiety. I was saved from fear by putting my trust in God, who guided me in safety, and I am sure I felt a lively gratitude."—Vol. i, pp. 399–402.

We should be very happy to give from our author a complete view of the city of Jerusalem, but this we are not able to do. Fully to grasp his graphic description of the various objects of interest in and about the Holy City, the whole must be read. We will merely give the "view" of the city "from Olivet:"—

"The celebrated view from the Mount of Olives, however, is that from which the traveler receives his final and remembered impression of Jerusalem. Hither, like every other visitor, I resorted, as soon as I was able to leave my chamber, and during my stay in the city I often repeated my walk. The summit of the Mount of Olives is about half a mile east from the city, which it completely overlooks, every considerable edifice and almost every house being distinctly visible. The city, seen from this point, appears to be a regular inclined plain, sloping gently and uniformly from west to east, or toward the observer, and indented by a slight depression or shallow vale running nearly through the centre in the same direction. The southeast corner of the quadrangle—for that may be assumed as the figure formed by the walls—that which is nearest to the observer, is occupied by the Mosque of Omar and its extensive and beautiful grounds. This is Mount Moriah, the site of Solomon's Temple; and the ground embraced in the sacred inclosure, which conforms to that of the ancient temple, occupies about an eighth of the whole of the modern city. It is covered with green-sward, and planted sparingly with olive, cypress, and other trees, and it is certainly the most lovely feature of the town, whether we have reference to the splendid constructions or the beautiful lawn spread out around them.

"The southwest quarter, embracing that part of Mount Sion which is within the modern town, is to a great extent occupied by the Armenian convent, an enormous edifice, which is the only conspicuous object in this neighborhood. The northwest is largely occupied by the Latin convent, another very extensive establishment. About midway between these two convents is the castle or citadel, close to the Bethlehem gate, already mentioned. The northeast quarter of Jerusalem is but partially built up, and it has more the aspect of a rambling, agricultural village, than that of a crowded city. The vacant spots here are green, with gardens and olive-trees. There is another large vacant tract along the southern wall, and west of the Haram, also covered with verdure. Near the centre of the city also appear two or three green spots, which are small gardens. The Church of the Holy Sepulchre is the only conspicuous edifice in this vicinity, and its domes are striking objects. There are no other buildings which, either from their size or beauty, are likely to engage the attention. Eight or ten minarets mark the position of so many mosques in different parts of the town, but they are only noticed because of their elevation above the surrounding edifices. Upon the same principle, the eye rests for a moment upon a great number of low domes which form the roofs of the principal dwellings, and relieve the heavy uniformity of the flat, plastered roofs which cover the greater mass of more humble habitations. Many ruinous piles and a thousand disgusting objects are concealed or disguised by the distance. Many inequalities of surface, which exist to so great an extent that there is not a level street of any length in Jerusalem, are also unperceived.

"From the same commanding point of view, a few olive and fig-trees are seen in the lower part of the Valley of Jehoshaphat, and scattered over the side of Olivet from its base to the summit. They

are sprinkled yet more sparingly on the southern sides of the city, on Mounts Zion and Ophel. North of Jerusalem, the olive plantations appear more numerous as well as thrifty, and they offer a grateful contrast to the sunburned fields and bare rocks which predominate in this landscape. The region west of the city appears to be destitute of trees.

"Fields of stunted wheat, yellow with the drought rather than white for the harvest, are seen on all sides of the town."—Vol. ii, pp. 127–129.

This grand description, with the aid of the map and the plate, will present a clear and definite view of the Holy City as it now is. The author differs from several writers of eminence as to the site of the holy sepulchre. His views are clearly presented, and, as far as we can judge, well sustained. He shows that there are substantial reasons for adhering to the traditionary faith on this subject.

Our author's "excursion to the Jordan and the Dead Sea" is a beautiful and elegant specimen of description, and from the number of interesting objects which it presents, can scarcely be traced in his chaste and striking language without feelings of the liveliest interest. The concourse of pilgrims, the bustle of a vast train, and the peculiarities of an Oriental encampment; the thieves and robbers in the way "from Jerusalem to Jericho;" the sacred waters of the Jordan, "overflowing all its banks;" and the great salt lake, or Dead Sea, in which the cities of the plain were submerged, are all brought out in so happy and striking a manner, that the reader is carried away from himself, and seems to stand gazing upon these splendid scenes, and inhaling the inspiration of their sublime associations. We can merely give the reader two or three specimens from this part of the work. The scene upon leaving Jerusalem is thus graphically and beautifully described :—

"After proceeding a quarter of a mile or more beyond Gethsemane, along the western side of Olivet, I had occasion to make a halt, and wait for a friend who had left the city by the Damascus gate, and, consequently, fallen in the rear. The view of the multitude before St. Stephen's, from this elevated and more distant point, was peculiarly striking and picturesque. The eye embraced the entire animated field at a single glance. The double row of women, lining the sides of the paved way, and glittering in their immense mantles, were conspicuously visible from the top quite to the bottom of the mount. Their white, resplendent ranks, upon which the rays of a brilliant sun were now falling, were as exact and regular as those of disciplined soldiers upon parade, and they defined all the courses and angles of the zigzag road with the perfection of a mathematical figure."—Pp. 194, 195.



The following is a portion of the author's description of the Jordan:—

“This verdant canopy of foliage and the luxuriant undergrowth of cane and brushwood entirely concealed the river from our view until we had nearly reached the water's edge. The banks were quite full, and had recently been overflowed, as was apparent from the water yet standing upon the lower grounds, and from marks left by it upon the trees. I estimated the river to be thirty-five or forty yards wide at this point. It swept along with a rapid, turbid current. The water was discolored and of a clayey hue, not unlike that of the Nile, and, though muddy, was agreeable to the taste. It bore the appearance of being deep, but I had no means of measurement. Some of the party who bathed in the river found themselves beyond their depth soon after leaving the shore, and they were carried rapidly down the stream by the strength of the current. Upon the particular part of the bank where we approached the river, a large quantity of sand had been deposited by the inundations, which formed good footing quite to the edge of the water. Here the pilgrims had performed their rites in the morning. A few rods lower down, however, the bank is formed of clay, with a very slight intermixture of sand, and it was too soft to bear footsteps. This is also the case at a little distance from the bank, where we stopped, and I several times sunk deep in the mire in attempting to leave the beaten track upon the sand deposit to walk among the trees.

“This spot, which may be four or five miles from the mouth of the river, and three and a half from the Dead Sea by a direct course over the plain, is held by the Greeks, and, I presume, by the Armenians, who joined in the religious ceremonies of the day, to be the identical place where our blessed Lord received baptism at the hands of John the Baptist. The Latin Christians resort to a place between two and three miles higher up the river, guided in their preference by a tradition which they regard of greater authenticity. The spot is marked by a ruinous convent, dedicated to the Baptist, which occupies a position at a little distance from the river, and was a conspicuous object from some parts of our route from Jericho. The banks of the Jordan are there clothed with wood, presenting to the eye, as seen at a distance, the same appearances as at the point which we visited below. Still nearer to the mouth of the river the trees become more rare, and in the immediate vicinity of the sea, as it appeared to us in riding across the plain, the banks are low and marshy, and covered with a thick growth of reeds and low bushes. North of the convent of St. John the border of trees continues to a great distance, quite beyond the reach of vision.”—Pp. 227–229.

We must close this part of our review with an extract from the account of the “Dead Sea:”—

“We approached the sea at its northern extremity, distant, I should think, a little more than two miles west from the mouth of the Jordan. The beach is smooth and sandy, and covered with pebbles and gravel. The water is not perfectly transparent, but has a whitish hue, as if

dashed with a very slight infusion of milk. To the taste it is extremely salt and bitter, perceptibly more so than the water of any other sea which I have visited. I at once pronounced it to have the taste of Glauber salts, to which one of the party replied, and I think justly, that it more resembled a mixture of salts and senna. We did not fail to bathe, for the double purpose of enjoying so great a luxury, especially grateful in this heated atmosphere, and of testing, by our own experience, the truth of the strange and rather discordant statements which have been put forth with regard to its buoyancy. I had always read the reports of travelers upon this subject with incredulity, ranking them with other fictions and legends with which all descriptions of this marvelous sea are rife; but the experiment satisfied me that, upon this point at least, there is no exaggeration. The water is shallow near the shore, and I waded perhaps one hundred and fifty yards before reaching a depth of seven or eight feet. I swam out into much deeper water, which I found to bear me upon its surface without any effort of the legs or arms. These, indeed, I raised quite out of the water, and still continued to float like a mass of wood. When I stood erect, with my feet placed together, and my hands and arms brought close to the sides, my shoulders still rose above the surface. I made many attempts to sink, but without success, and found swimming an awkward business, as it was quite impossible to keep both the arms and legs in the water at the same time. Some gentlemen of the party, who were unable to swim, waded in cautiously at first, but found themselves suddenly endowed with the capacity of floating upon the briny element.

"The usual casualties of a sea-bath did not fail to administer repeated tastes of the nauseous fluid, and the strong exclamations and distorted visages of the company gave ample and unanimous testimony to its intolerable saline bitterness. It is to its excessive saltiness unquestionably that the water of the Dead Sea is indebted for its unequalled ability to sustain heavy bodies. Its specific gravity is much greater than that of any other water known to have been subjected to chymical examination. According to the experiments of Dr. Marcet, of London, the results of which have been substantially confirmed by many subsequent trials, the specific gravity of this water is twelve hundred and eleven, that of rain-water being one thousand. It contains about one-fourth its weight in various salts, of which those of soda, magnesia, and lime are the most considerable. From some of these ingredients the water derives a pungency, which made itself quite sensible to the skin after remaining in it for a quarter of an hour, and then going into the air. Besides a slight smarting, it left upon my skin a sense of stiffness, as if it were coated with a thin, adhesive substance; but I could obtain no evidence of the presence of any foreign matter upon passing my hand over the surface. I, however, several times submerged my head in attempting to sink, and I subsequently found that the hair had imbibed from the water a something little less adhesive than tar. I could with difficulty pass a comb through it, and it was only at the end of ten days or a fortnight, and after several ablutions with soap and water, that I was able to get clear of this troublesome memorial of my bath in the Dead Sea.

"We made diligent search, so far as our opportunities permitted, for evidence bearing upon the current tradition that no species of fish can live in these waters, which are said to be so pestiferous as not only to be fatal to animal life, but to poison the atmosphere, so that birds, venturing to fly over the sea, soon fall dead upon its bosom. The attention of our whole party was particularly directed to this subject, and we made a careful examination along the beach, and, so far as practicable, in the shallow water near the shore, for two miles or more, in quest of shells and fish. We discovered one small fish, about four inches long, in the shallow water, a little east of the place where we had bathed. It was dead, though it retained a fresh appearance. No living fish was seen, nor any shells, or the smallest fragment of a shell. These facts are the more decisive upon the question, as this shore is evidently much lashed with storms, which could not well fail of throwing upon the beach some specimens, if any existed, of the animal and vegetable productions of this sea. Large quantities of drift-wood are accumulated on the beach, which the rains have brought down from the mountain ravines, and the prevalence of southerly winds has driven upon this shore. There was no marine plant of any description to be found among these masses, which consist mostly of entire trees, whose branches and roots must have swept the bottom in many places in their progress through the water, and collected the sea-weed and other vegetable growth in their track, had any existed.

"Here were the largest trunks which I saw in Palestine. No trees or verdure of any kind are seen upon the dreary mountains about the Dead Sea, but these trophies of the storm demonstrate the existence of a more generous soil in their deep and hidden recesses. They were entirely excoriated, so that not a vestige of bark remained to aid in determining the species to which they belonged; an evidence of the violence and frequency of the storms that prevail in this sea.

"In view of the facts here stated, which correspond substantially with the reports of former travelers, it can hardly be thought premature to conclude that the water of the Dead Sea is fatal to, or, at least, is incapable of sustaining animal or vegetable life. There can be little doubt that the dead fish was an estray from the Jordan, only two or three miles distant, and the state in which it was found goes to establish the pestiferous character of this water. The same is probably true of the 'two or three shells of fish, resembling oyster-shells, cast up by the waves, two hours' distance from the mouth of the Jordan,' which were seen by the traveler Maundrell. Seetzen found some snail-shells upon the shore, and Irby discovered snail-shells, and another species of a small, spiral form. All, however, were empty, and appeared to be old. They were, most probably, land, and not marine shells, and were quite too inconsiderable in number to counterbalance the strong and concurrent testimony which seems to have established the fact, at least till some new discoveries shall be made, that nothing of the kind is produced by this sea. It may be the extreme saltiness of the water that is so fatal to animal and vegetable life, or the effect may not improbably be produced by some other ingredient more peculiar and powerful, which has not yet been detected. It may



be, too, that the atmosphere derives a measure of insalubrity from the same cause, whatever it may be ; but we had demonstrative evidence that tradition is at fault in affirming that birds are unable to fly over the surface of the sea. We saw several small flocks rise from the reeds and brushwood that grow upon the beach a little west of the place where we bathed, and fly toward the eastern shore, without any appearance of suffering or difficulty. I did not recognize any species with which I am acquainted ; but they were of a dark gray color, and about as large as sparrows. The sterility of the region, and the want of fish and other food suited to the sustenance of aquatic fowls, sufficiently account for the rarity of the feathered tribes, without ascribing any pernicious influences to malaria and noxious vapors from the sea. It is, beyond all question, an insalubrious region. I have already mentioned the sickly complexion of the inhabitants of Jericho. Those of the southern border of the sea are reported to exhibit symptoms of feebleness and disease equally indicative of the malignant character of the climate, to account for which something more seems necessary than the extreme heat prevalent here throughout so large a part of the year. It perhaps derives a special malignity from the waters of the sea."—Pp. 234-238.

After the numerous observations of learned travelers which have been published upon the East, any thing like discovery is scarcely expected. We find, however, several important objects described and identified by our traveler, which we do not recollect to have seen noticed by any of his numerous predecessors. These we will now proceed to notice, presenting them in the author's own language. Several of this class of objects are found in Petra. Of these we have the following descriptions :—

"I have said that we arrived in Petra on the 30th day of March. We pitched our tents on a level area, the largest, probably, in the ancient city, and elevated fifteen or twenty feet above the southern embankment of the river. It is situated in the angle of a perpendicular rock nearly twenty feet in height, which has been faced by art, so as to form, as far as it extends, two sides of a square. The eastern side is completed by a massive wall in good preservation. The southern and western sides were also inclosed by some barrier, of which a mound of rubbish and a part of the foundation stones still mark the direction and extent. This great central area was certainly a place of public resort, probably the forum of Petra. Several bridges, or, perhaps, one broad bridge, of which the substantial foundations still remain, gave access thither from the opposite side of the river ; and two staircases still exist, in ruins, by which the multitude ascended to this theatre of business or pleasure. Several pedestals, and an immense prostrate column, mark the unquestionable position of a colonnade, the magnificent entrance to the forum, fronting toward the north, and standing immediately above the bridge, from which it is separated by a broad, paved thoroughfare, that extended from the great eastern

entrance of Petra westward, through the most central and splendid portion of the city, to the palace of Pharaoh. West of this forum, and about half way to the palace which I have described as the only remaining edifice of Petra, is another level of about the same dimensions, bounded on the south by a nearly semi-circular bulwark of solid rock, excavated by art. To this are joined the walls that form the eastern and western sides of this area, the extremities of which are united by a low, thick mass of masonry, forming the chord. This, too, was unquestionably a place of public meetings for amusements or business, though the structure is in too ruinous a condition to allow us to determine with certainty to what particular object it was devoted. On the summit of that part of the rock which forms the east side of this area are considerable remains of a cistern. The cement with which it was lined is still solid, and uninjured by time. The two public places which I have just described fronted, as did the other principal edifices, the great thoroughfare along the bank of the river. This must have been a magnificent street."—Pp. 24, 25.

"Urging my ascending way by several narrow and steep flights of steps, and through ravines choked with shrubs and brushwood, I passed a small and shallow reservoir, made for collecting the small rills which were conducted hither by natural and some by artificial channels. My attention was here attracted by a venerable cedar, the largest I have yet seen in Arabia, and the dark green foliage of several large trees which it partially concealed from my view. I was surprised to find that these noble trees grow in the bottom of an ancient reservoir, thirty-two paces in length by eight wide, and nearly twenty feet in depth. This interesting monument of the ancient civilization of Petra is excavated out of the solid rock, one end of it only being formed of a massive wall, consisting of twenty-eight courses of hewn stone, still in good preservation. A flight of stone steps leads down to the bottom of the reservoir, which are also entire. It is lined with a cement formed of lime and gravel. The bottom is carpeted with the richest vegetation I have seen in Arabia; and the venerable trees, each from twelve to eighteen inches in diameter, almost exclude the rays of the sun by their thick, dark foliage. For any thing I was able to discover, this reservoir is in perfect preservation and now fit for use."—P. 27.

"In returning to Petra our guide led us through another deep and wild ravine, which enters the northern extremity of the town. It increased the length of our rather fatiguing excursion, but had the advantage of affording new and interesting views of this peculiar mountain scenery. The way is narrow and precipitous, and practicable only for foot passengers. The appearance of the mountains north of us, as seen from that part of the valley, is a little peculiar. They shoot up into a great number of lofty, distinct peaks, whose summits have become rounded by the agency of the elements. The whole looks like a Cyclopean city of domes, and the rock is of gray sandstone, which gives them a hoary and venerable aspect. In some parts of this route, immense masses of rock, which have fallen from the higher regions of the mountains, stand reclining against each other on the sides of the

ravine, forming covered ways, under which we passed. With the exception of a few inconsiderable excavations, or, more properly, niches in the face of the mountain, we discovered no mark of art or industry besides an aqueduct excavated in the face of the cliff on our right, and extending the whole length of this wild valley. It is carried over a deep chasm which occurs in the rock on an ancient arch, still in good preservation, and forming, when seen from the ravine, a most picturesque and striking object. I clambered up the rocks to examine this fine specimen of art more minutely. The covered channel for the conveyance of the water is a part of the way entire, and the lining of cement still adheres to its sides. This aqueduct begins near the eastern extremity of the Syke, and, after running north for perhaps a mile, and collecting the water which falls upon this part of the mountain, turns to the west and joins the one already described, extending from the northern extremity of Petra along the eastern mountain, and discharging its water near the centre of the city. Such economic arrangements are calculated to give us very favorable ideas of the wealth and advanced civilization of the race of men who occupied this wonderful city."—Pp. 42, 43.

Our author thinks he has discovered the site of Bethphage, which it has generally been supposed was lost. The following is his account of the ruins of this interesting spot:—

"The footpath which leads from Bethany over the Mount of Olives to Jerusalem takes a northwest direction around the head of a deep ravine which passes off along the foot of the mount to the right. This valley, which contains a good many fruit-trees, and is extensively tilled by the plough, separates a lower ridge from Olivet, which also stretches off to the right, parallel with the ravine. Instead of following the path, I turned off along the top of this ridge, which is tolerably level and partially cultivated. My object was to look for any existing remains of the ancient Bethphage, which, from the nature of the ground about Bethany, taken in connection with the language of the evangelists upon this subject, I thought would probably be found, if at all, in this direction. I was gratified to discover, at the distance of perhaps forty rods from the path, and a little more than a quarter of a mile nearly north from Bethany, the unquestionable vestiges of an ancient village. Here, upon the top of the ridge, and upon the upper portion of the slope toward the Mount of Olives, is a large reservoir, which, though not used at present, is very little out of repair. It is lined with cement and covered with an arch, in the same style as the ancient cisterns in the open field north of the city. The mouth through which the water was raised is about three feet square. Near this reservoir are several foundations for houses, made by excavating the rock so as to form a level of sufficient extent for the purpose. Besides these well-defined and unchangeable remains, there are several shapeless heaps of stones and rubbish, which must be taken, in such a place, for the ruins and accumulations of former habitations or other edifices. I take these to be the ruins of Bethphage, of which it is commonly said not a vestige



remains to mark its former site. The road from Jericho by which our Lord approached Jerusalem must have passed through, or just to the right of Bethany, and to the left of Bethphage, which probably met, or nearly so, on this side, for which the ground is sufficiently favorable. The language of the evangelists clearly implies that the two places were adjacent, or rather, perhaps, united in one. 'And when they came nigh to Jerusalem, unto Bethphage and Bethany, at the Mount of Olives,' Mark ii, 1. Luke (chap. xix, 29) uses the same language: 'When he was come nigh to Bethphage and Bethany, at the Mount of Olives.' Bethphage and Bethany were adjoining then, and at the Mount of Olives, two circumstances which almost demonstrably fix Bethphage at or near the ancient reservoir. It must otherwise have been at the Mount of Olives, on the opposite side of Bethany, where the ground is impracticable. Its situation upon the ridge, at the place of the ruins, was highly favorable for the residence of persons employed in cultivating the valley, which contains a large tract of arable land."—Pp. 321, 322.

The next object of this class is "an ancient citadel" upon Mount Gerizim, which our author concludes, with much probability, to be "really the remains of the demolished Samaritan Temple." The following is his description:—

"The most conspicuous object upon these heights is a Mohammedan tomb, situated near the eastern brow of the mountain, on the edge of an extensive field of ruins. Leaving this to the right, and, for the present, unexplored, we passed on to a second summit, separated from the first by a considerable depression, and distant from it perhaps two or three hundred yards, toward the northeast. This is a high point of the mountain, which pushes out between Wady Sahl and the Valley of Nablous, and the particular elevation overlooks the vicinity of Jacob's Well and Joseph's Tomb. The rounded summit is surmounted by an ancient citadel, now in a very ruinous state, but easily traceable on every side. Portions of the wall, consisting of large square stones, are seen in several places. From others the materials have evidently been removed; but a mound of mortar and smaller stones preserves the continuity of the inclosure, which is a quadrangle sixty-eight steps in length by forty-four wide. South of this area are considerable ruins; and there are appearances upon the north and east sides which indicate the former existence of a second wall in advance of the first, and considerably lower down the declivity.

"Adjacent to the inclosure, upon the north, is a ruinous cistern, forty-six paces in length by twenty wide. A portion of its wall, now standing, is seven feet thick by twenty in height. A fig-tree finds root among its ruins, and there is a broken doorway in the northern side."—P. 344.

Our traveler finally takes his departure from the Holy City with the feelings which might be expected to predominate in a mind predisposed to venerate antiquity, and an imagination highly

susceptible of strong impressions. His route to the point of embarkation upon the Mediterranean lay through Samaria. He visits Mount Gerizim, Tiberius, the ancient Sychar, "Jacob's well," and the Sea of Galilee. But our limits will not permit us to give any specimen of his observations in this region of wonders.

We must not omit to notify the reader that these volumes are ornamented with a map of Egypt, Arabia Petræa, and Palestine, and one of the city of Jerusalem; and also with several beautiful steel-plate engravings; all taken on the spot by our citizen, Mr. Catherwood, whose high reputation in the art is too well known and too highly appreciated to require our commendation. These maps and engravings are not mere ornaments; they greatly assist the reader in forming a correct conception of the topography of the regions visited by our traveler, and of the appearance of a variety of interesting objects which are described in his work.

Our object in this paper has been to give as correct a view as possible of the character of Dr. Olin's work. This, from the nature of the case, we could not do in any way so effectually as by copious extracts from such portions of it as afford fair specimens of the whole. We have seldom read a work with so much pleasure. As a literary production it is entitled to take a high rank. We have detected no single offense against the best literary taste, the language always being suited to make the impression which the author designs. The style is natural, perspicuous, and energetic. The facts are happily selected, and the objects comprehensively and graphically described. The sentiments are sound and manly; and the arguments cogent and convincing. Dr. Olin, in describing the places mentioned in Scripture, has the Bible always before him, and makes up his opinions upon mooted questions from his own personal examinations and investigations, not servilely following any previous traveler. For these examinations he is eminently qualified by his learning, extensive reading, and habits of thought and observation. We would make no invidious comparisons; but in justice we are bound to say, that there are works of the class of much higher pretensions, which afford much less real available information, and, of course, for all practical purposes, are far inferior to the volumes of our highly esteemed friend.

In the study of Scriptural geography, a better text-book cannot be found. As a book to be read for instruction and entertainment, it is among the highest class. As an aid in a critical reading of the Holy Scriptures, it has vastly higher claims than its author ever thought of making for it. Finally, it deals in facts, and not in legendary tales.

We can most confidently and cordially recommend this work to our readers, as a production which does honor to the author and to the Methodist Episcopal Church, of which he has so long been a distinguished minister and an ornament. We hope the Methodist ministers will read it, and encourage its circulation. A sufficient reason for expressing this wish, to say nothing of such considerations as respect the author himself, is, that it will afford them the kind of information which they need in a smaller compass, and at a less expense of money and time, than any similar work. We indeed have no doubt but Dr. Olin's Travels in the East will be thought a necessary appendage to every Methodist preacher's library, and an ornament to the centre tables of our members and friends. We do not insinuate by these remarks that there is the least taint of sectarianism in the work. Far from this. The author's known liberality and truly catholic feelings would be, to all who know him, a sufficient guaranty against such a defect. And it is observable, that his enlarged views are always developed when he comes into contact with missionaries of other denominations in the East. His expressions upon these occasions are eminently fraternal, and must be truly gratifying to all good Christians who feel a greater interest in the prosperity of our common Christianity than they do in the extension of particular communions.

But we shall be excused for saying, that Dr. Olin still has special claims upon Methodists, and particularly Methodist preachers. He has been for many years identified with our connection, and is now assiduously devoted to the interests of one of our rising colleges. In his labors to elevate the standard of education in our church, he is now rendering important service not only to the Methodist denomination, but to the country at large. For all this the public express their gratitude in various ways. And we are quite sure that his brethren and fellow-laborers will not be behind in any proper expression of respect for one so truly deserving; especially when, by doing so, they not only do credit to their own taste, but secure to themselves the means of high gratification and substantial improvement.



## ART. VIII.—CRITICAL NOTICES.

1. *Memoirs of Several Wesleyan Preachers; principally selected from Rev. T. Jackson's Lives of Early Methodist Preachers, and the Arminian and Wesleyan Magazines.* 12mo., pp. 346. New-York: G. Lane and P. P. Sandford. 1843.

THE present volume, it is confidently believed, will constitute an important addition to our means of acquainting ourselves with the early history of Methodism. Too much cannot be known of the religious experience and labors of those self-denying men, who, in the providence of God, were called to assist the Messrs. Wesley in their labors to spread Scriptural holiness over the world. American Methodists will undoubtedly appreciate the efforts of the Book Agents to give them in a permanent form what is to be known of Mr. Wesley's coadjutors. These Memoirs have been collected and arranged by the Rev. P. P. Sandford, whose long experience and discrimination amply qualify him to suit a work of this kind to the taste and wants of American readers. We cannot doubt but the work will be extensively circulated and read by all lovers of eminent examples of piety and zeal, and especially by Methodists.

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2. *The Mother's Practical Guide in the Early Training of her Children: containing Directions for their Physical, Intellectual, and Moral Education.* By MRS. J. BAKEWELL. From the second London edition. 18mo., pp. 224. New-York: G. Lane & P. P. Sandford. 1843.

THERE is no subject of higher importance, and yet scarcely any less understood, than the physical, intellectual, and moral training of children. Upon this depends the future man. Habits are formed and principles instilled in the young, which become indelibly fixed in the constitution, and which continue to act through life. The work at the head of this notice is a sound, sensible production, and cannot fail greatly to assist young mothers in so forming the habits and principles of the dear objects of their solicitude, that they may qualify them for the duties and conflicts of life. We ardently hope this little manual will find its way especially into every young family of our numerous connection.

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3. *Lectures on the Nature and End of the Sacred Office, and on the Dignity, Duty, Qualifications, and Character of the Sacred Order.* By JOHN SMITH, D. D., one of the Ministers of Cambleton. 12mo., pp. 284. Philadelphia: Sorin & Ball. 1843.

WE are highly gratified that a new edition of this superb work is now given to the ministry in this country. It comes out timely, and

we have no doubt will meet with an extensive sale. Among the various works of the class we have read, we have no hesitation in saying we think this the best.

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4. *Millenarianism Defended; a Reply to Professor Stuart's "Strictures on the Rev. G. Duffield's recent Work on the Second Coming of Christ," in which the former's false Assumptions are pointed out, and the Fallacy of his Interpretation of different important Passages of Scripture are both philologically and exegetically exposed.* By GEORGE DUFFIELD, Pastor of the First Presbyterian Church of Detroit. 12mo., pp. 183. New-York: Mark H. Newman. 1843.

THIS is a spirited, and somewhat caustic, rejoinder to Professor Stuart's review of the author's work on the prophecies. In this sharp controversy we are inclined to the opinion, that in several leading points both parties are wrong. The productions pro and con may, however, be read with profit. The controversy is probably still to proceed; and it is to be hoped that at each successive stage of it new light will be reflected upon a dark and confessedly difficult subject.

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5. *The Christian Citizen.—The Obligations of the Christian Citizen, with a Review of High-Church Principles in Relation to Civil and Religious Institutions.* By A. D. EDDY, Newark, N. J. 12mo., pp. 164. New-York: J. S. Taylor & Co. 1843.

THIS work is executed with considerable spirit and ability. It contains many hard thrusts at Puseyism and infidelity. The argument against the exclusiveness of the high-Church party is well sustained and entirely conclusive. But in his views of "the doctrines of grace" the author strongly inclines to ultra-Calvinism, and falls himself into a species of exclusiveness little less injurious in its bearings than that which he so stoutly resists: he also erroneously identifies Arminianism with "high-Church pretensions." He seems to see no difference between the evangelical system of Arminius and the semi-Pelagianism of Laud—and in the instrumentality employed in "the gradual revival of religion within the last forty years," in England, makes no mention of the Wesleyan Methodists. We had hoped that the battle of the seventeenth century between two systems of exclusiveness had died away, never to be revived; and that evangelical Christians of all denominations were now prepared to view their respective peculiarities in their true light. But if the scope and spirit of "The Christian Citizen" correctly represent the views and feelings of the Calvinistic churches of this country, we may well despair of any thing

like combined action against Roman and Anglican usurpations. We heartily wish the author clearer views of the true "doctrines of grace," and a more expansive charity.

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6. *A Residence of eight Years in Persia, among the Nestorian Christians; with Notices of the Mohammedans.* By REV. JUSTIN PERKINS. With a Map and Plates. 8vo., pp. 512. Andover: Allen, Morrill, & Wardwell. New-York: M. W. Dodd. 1843.

THE wonder-working power of the gospel, as it is manifested in foreign lands, through the instrumentality of self-denying missionaries, cannot be too well understood. And missionaries abroad, who would keep up the interest at home, and be sustained by the prayers and contributions of the churches, must not fail to spread before them the facts connected with their operations. We wish to know as much as possible of the character and habits of the people where our missionaries labor, and the success of the labors bestowed upon them. And indeed, without being frequently and explicitly advised upon these subjects, our zeal soon flags, and our liberality is restrained.

The book before us is a fund of information in relation to one of the most interesting portions of the great missionary field. The Nestorians are a fragment of the primitive church, not a particle the worse for having been cut off from the communion of the Greek and Latin churches, by the Council of Nice, because they would not call the Virgin Mary "the mother of God." They are on many accounts a most interesting people, and we rejoice in the great and effectual door which is now open, for the free circulation of the Scriptures and other religious publications, and the labors of devoted missionaries among them.

The work before us is truly Christian and missionary in its spirit and tendency. It is illustrated with numerous colored engravings, showing the peculiarities of the native costumes, &c. We doubt not but this work will be the means in the hands of God of much good both to the Nestorians and the churches in this country.

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7. *Psychology, or a View of the Human Soul; including Anthropology. Adapted for the Use of Colleges.* By REV. FREDERICK A. RAUCH, D. P., late President of Marshall College, Penn. Second edition, revised and improved. 8vo., pp. 401. New-York: M. W. Dodd. 1841.

THE work now before us is one which cost the author much reflection and study. It is an attempt to bring the better portions of the



German philosophy into a system in harmony with the elements of revealed religion. We have been able only to give it a cursory examination, and, of course, cannot speak of it with much confidence. But so far as we can judge from the attention we have paid to the work, it forms a valuable portion of the mass of effort which has been contributed to the illustration of the phenomena of mind, and is well worthy the attention of the philosopher and the student. Every teacher certainly ought at least to read Rauch, whether he adopts him as a standard or not. The work is well executed, and, in appearance, is worthy of the enterprising publisher.

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8. *The Advancement of Religion the Claim of the Times.* By ANDREW REED, D. D. With a recommendatory Introduction. By GARDINER SPRING, D. D. 12mo., pp. 310. New-York: M. W. Dodd. 1843.

THIS is a timely and a stirring production. It is an earnest appeal to all Christians, and especially to ministers of the Lord Jesus. It is comprised in ten lectures upon the following topics, viz. :—

“Lecture I—The advancement of religion desirable; — II—Its advancement in the person; — III—Its advancement by personal effort; — IV—Its advancement in the family; — V—Its advancement by the ministry; — VI—Its advancement in the church; — VII—Its advancement by the church; — VIII—Its advancement in the nation; — IX—Its advancement in the world; — X—Certainty and glory of the consummation.”

The following specimens of the author's tone will give the reader a fair idea of the character of the work. They are taken from the fifth lecture, on “advancement by the ministry :”—

“Our communications should have all the freshness of a revelation, and all the vitality and reality which are found in ‘fear, and trembling, and tears.’

“Such was the ministry once; and such it must become yet once more. My brethren, we shall never go into the millennium with read sermons and read prayers! Imagination is versatile; but it is difficult even to imagine Paul, or Peter, or Timothy reading a sermon, or repeating a precomposed prayer. ‘Where the Spirit of the Lord is, there is liberty.’ Our modern methods are the sign and the cause of weakness and degeneracy. We must have a ministry free, disencumbered; relying on the heart and on God, not on the memory and the manuscript; breathing of life, love, and heaven!”

“To be great, the ministry must be magnanimous. It must live, not for sect and party, but for man and for God. Points of difference must be seen for confession, for humiliation, not for strife; points of agreement must be resolutely made the centre of unity, fellowship, and co-operation. All who are not against us, are with us and for us.”

"Considerations of place, time, manner, should not even be placed in the scale, against the simple claims of duty. If it is my duty to labor abroad, in foreign and barbarous climes, I must be prepared cheerfully to go there, though all my preferences should be at home; and if it is my duty to labor at home, I must be equally ready, though all my preferences should be abroad. He is prepared to labor nowhere, who is not prepared to labor anywhere for Christ."—Pp. 148–150.

We could most heartily wish this book in the hands of every Christian family in the land. We cordially thank the publisher for giving a work of so much practical value, and so eminently adjusted to the necessities of the times, to the American public. We are sure that when the churches shall become imbued with its spirit, and shall act upon its really catholic and Christian principles, the world will feel their power; and infidelity, with every form of spurious Christianity, will flee away for ever. May God hasten the day!

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9. *A Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities*. Edited by WILLIAM SMITH, P. D.; and illustrated by numerous engravings on wood. First American edition, carefully revised, and containing numerous additional articles relative to the botany, mineralogy, and zoology of the ancients. By CHARLES ANTHON, LL.D. New-York: Harper & Brothers.

THE study of the classics in this country is passing through an important change. To use the forcible language employed not long since, by one of the daily papers, it is beginning to take rank in the life-time occupation of a scholar, instead of the mere routine of a school-boy or a collegian. Men are springing up among us, as they have long been found in Europe, willing to make Roman and Greek literature their whole business, proficiency in it their claim to consideration, new discoveries in relation to it, or the settlement of doubtful questions, their title to renown. With this change, it is hoped, will come a change in the manner of studying, the manner of teaching, the object of learning, the subsequent employment, and, above all, in the selection of persons to become students of the classics.

In Germany, men devote themselves to the acquisition of what we may call classical knowledge, in contradistinction from Latin and Greek words and phrases. There, they labor assiduously for years—ay, often for their whole lives—to become perfectly familiar not only with ancient literature, but also with ancient history, manners, science, philosophy, and theology. Not content to possess a superficial and mere verbal acquaintance with three or four books, they seek to enter into the spirit of those who wrote the books, of the people for whom, and the ages in which, they were written. And mainly to German scholars, therefore, is the world indebted for such rare and precious materials as are exhibited in the magnificent octavo whose title is placed at the head of this notice. An English scholar, indeed, arranged, and an American has enlarged and improved, the noble collection; but chiefly to German writers have they resorted for the

treasures of knowledge here spread out for the use of English and American students.

Of what vast importance and value such a work must be to the classical student, must be perfectly obvious. With its aid the study of Greek and Latin becomes not an empty matter of words and phrases, conducing little to either enlargement of mind or refinement of taste, but a veritable employment of the intellect, as rich in results as it is satisfactory and useful in progress; the learner has the consciousness of acquiring something beyond mere verbal knowledge, thus dealing with things—realities—as he advances in his study of the languages; and we may hope that a consequence will be the existence among us hereafter of classical *scholars*, worthy of the name, and capable of something more than the tracing of a root, or the scanning of a quantity.

In conclusion, we must bestow a few words upon the part taken by the publishers in the preparation of this great volume. All their editions of classical works, produced under the supervision of Dr. Anthon, have been eminently noticeable for beauty of type and excellence of workmanship; indicating, or perhaps we should rather say creating, a new era in the publication of school books. But this Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities surpasses even its predecessors in the series. It is admirably printed, on thick, white paper, inclosed in handsome substantial binding, and most copiously illustrated with wood engravings of remarkably good execution. The expense of publishing such a work must be enormous; and the publishers, we are sure, would not have ventured upon it if they had not derived from the sale of Dr. Anthon's other classical editions a reasonable assurance that the demand would be extensive, continuous, and increasing.

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10. *The Works of the Rev. Robert Hall, A. M., with a Brief Memoir of his Life.* By Dr. GREGORY. And Observations on his Character as a Preacher, by the Rev. JOHN FOSTER. Published under the superintendence of ORLINTHUS GREGORY, LL.D., F. R. A. S., Professor of Mathematics in the Royal Military Academy. In three vols., 8vo., pp. 504, 488, 546. Harper & Brothers. 1842.

THE Works of Robert Hall are too well known and too highly appreciated to require eulogy from us. It is an encouraging fact that works of this class are so extensively called for and read. Robert Hall was eminently a good Christian, an eloquent preacher, and a man of truly liberal and catholic views. He felt it vastly more important to defend the great fundamental principles of Christianity against the assaults of infidelity than to maintain mere sectarian dogmas. In his Works, he has left behind him a body of divinity sound in fundamentals, and characterized by a purity of style and a power of expression peculiarly his own. These Works constitute an important portion of the mass of English theology and literature, which is destined to go down to the latest posterity. The present edition is executed in a style corresponding with the works of the enterprising house from which it emanates.



11. *Useful Works for the People, No. 1—Travels in the Great Western Prairies.* By THOMAS J. FARNHAM. 8vo., pp. 112.  
 —, No. 2—*Improvements in Agriculture, Arts, &c., of the United States.* By Hon. W. H. ELLSWORTH, U. S. Commissioner of Patents. 8vo., pp. 80.  
 —, No. 3—*Sketch of the Progress of Physical Science.* By THOMAS THOMSON, M. D., F. R. S. Also, a Course of Lectures on Astronomy, &c. By DIONYSIUS LARDNER, LL.D. 8vo., pp. 96.  
 —, No. 4—*Chimistry of the four Ancient Elements, Fire, Air, Earth, and Water.* By THOMAS GRIFFITHS. Also, the Book of Philosophical Experiments. By J. S. DALTON. 8vo., pp. 81. New-York: Greeley & M'Elrath. 1843.

WE have here *multum in parvo*—the results of the most important scientific investigations brought within the most limited means. We cordially thank the publishers for providing "the people" with such excellent helps to scientific improvement.

12. *The Kingdom of Christ Delineated. Second edition, with additions by the Author.* By RICHARD WHATELY, D. D., Archbishop of Dublin. 12mo., pp. 298. New-York: Wiley & Putnam. 1843.

WE are happy to announce a new edition, with the author's improvements, of this truly important and timely work. We heartily wish it a wide circulation.

13. *An Essay on the Doctrine of the Trinity.* By HIRAM MATTISON, Minister of the M. E. Church. 12mo., pp. 122. Watertown: N. W. FULLER.

THIS is an able defense of a fundamental doctrine.

14. *Cyclopædia of Biblical Literature.* By JOHN KITTO, Editor of "The Pictorial Bible," &c., &c. Part I. 8vo., pp. 80. New-York: Mark H. Newman. 1843.

THIS is a work of great interest to the Biblical student.

15. *Newbury Biblical Magazine.* Vol. I, No. 1, May, 1843. Edited by Professor W. M. WILLETT. 8vo., pp. 48.

WE heartily wish all success to this enterprise.

16. *M'Culloch's Universal Gazetteer.—A Dictionary, Geographical, Statistical, and Historical, of the various Countries, Places, and principal Natural Objects in the World.* By J. R. M'CULLOCH. With Additions, by DANIEL HASKEL, A. M., late President of the University of Vermont. In 2 vols. New-York: Harper & Brothers.

THIS great work is issued in parts, on the plan upon which the same house is issuing several other works of great interest. The execution is beautiful.

17. *The Principles of English Grammar; comprising the Substance of the most approved English Grammars extant. With copious Exercises in Parsing and Syntax, for the Use of Academies and Common Schools. A new Edition, revised and corrected; with an Appendix of various and useful Matter.* By the Rev. PETER BULLIONS, D. D., Professor of Languages in the Albany Academy; author of Principles of Latin Grammar; and Principles of Greek Grammar. 12mo., pp. 216. New-York: Robinson, Pratt, & Co. 1843.

*The Principles of Latin Grammar; comprising the Substance of the most approved Grammars extant, for the Use of Colleges and Academies.* By the Rev. PETER BULLIONS, D. D., Professor of Languages in the Albany Academy; author of Principles of English Grammar; and Principles of Greek Grammar. 12mo., pp. 303. New-York: Robinson, Pratt, & Co. 1843.

*The Principles of Greek Grammar; comprising the Substance of the most approved Grammars extant, for the Use of Colleges and Academies. Third edition, revised and corrected.* By the Rev. PETER BULLIONS, D. D., Professor of Languages in the Albany Academy; author of Principles of English Grammar, and of Principles of Latin Grammar. 12mo., pp. 312. New-York: Robinson, Pratt, & Co. 1843.

THE above series of Grammars come attended by strong recommendations from some of the best scholars in the land. The plan is given in the following language:—

“In preparing this series the main object has been, first, to provide for the use of schools a set of class books on this important branch of study, more simple in their arrangement, more complete in their parts, and better adapted to the purposes of public instruction, than any heretofore in use in our public seminaries; and, secondly, to give the whole a uniform character by following, in each, substantially, the same arrangement of parts, using the same grammatical terms, and expressing the definitions, rules, and leading parts, as nearly as the nature of the case would admit, in the same language; and thus to render the study of one Grammar a more profitable introduction to the study of another than it can be, when the books used differ so widely from each other in their whole style and arrangement, as those now in use commonly do. By this means, it is believed, much time and labor will be saved, both to teacher and pupil—the analogy and peculiarities of the different languages being constantly kept in view, will show what is common to all, or peculiar to each—the confusion and difficulty unnecessarily occasioned by the use of elementary works, differing widely from each other in language and structure, will be avoided—and the progress of the student rendered much more rapid, easy, and satisfactory.”

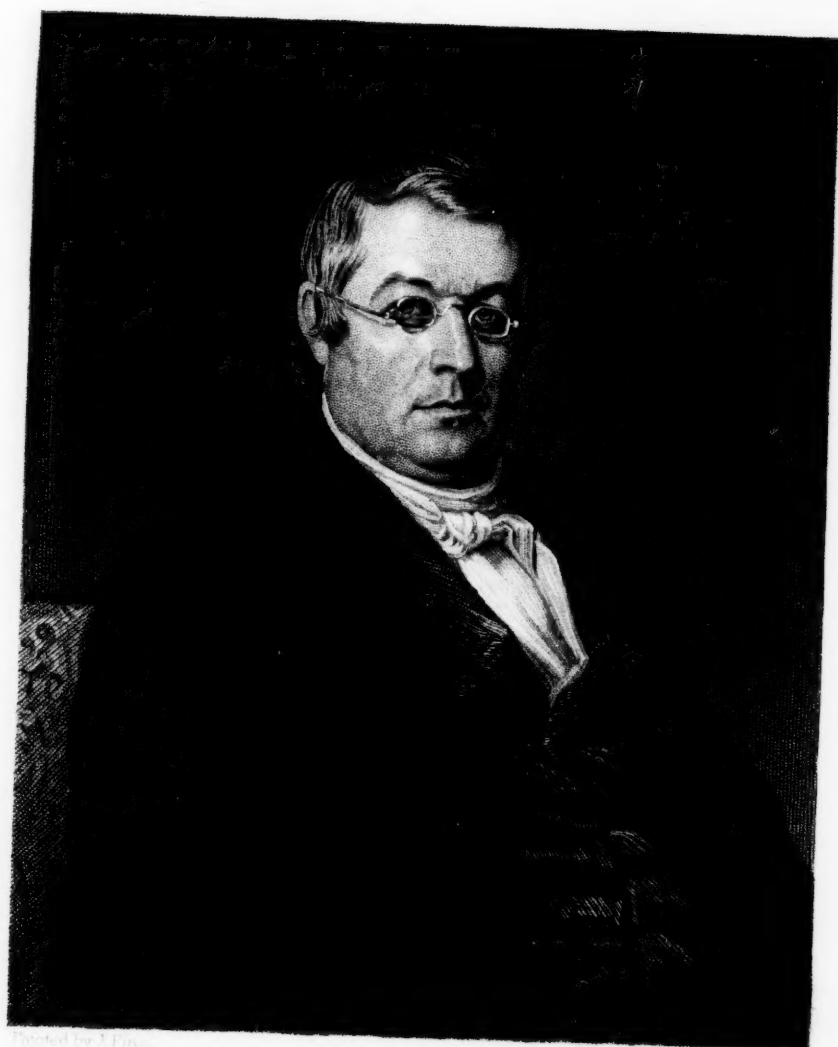
These Grammars are, it seems, being extensively adopted in the schools and colleges of this country, and there can be no doubt but they have high merit. The importance of good text books in this department is great and pressing, and the fact that there has hitherto been great room for improvement has been known and felt by those who are capable of judging of the matter. We can but hope we shall finally reach the point of perfection which will, at least, obviate the necessity of frequent changes. Change of text books is certainly a great evil; but the work of change must still go on so long as existing systems are materially defective.

18. *Judah's Lion.* By CHARLOTTE ELIZABETH. 12mo., pp. 406. New-York: M. W. Dodd. 1843.

A most beautiful, interesting, and instructive tale.







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Engraved by P. M. M. M.

THE REV. THOMAS B. SCOTT

*one of the founders of the American Episcopal Church*

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